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T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

H E N R Y VII.

O F

E N G L A N D,

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1616.

BY FRANCIS BACON,

BARON OF VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN,

AND

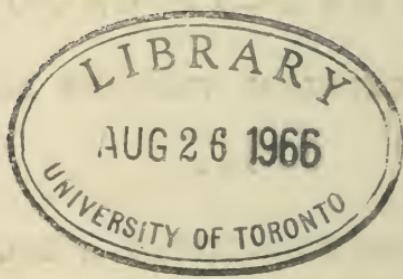
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

NOW FIRST NEW WRITTEN 1786.

1) L O N D O N:

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

LORD St. ALBAN was born in the year 1560, soon after queen *Elizabeth* came to the throne ; he was alive during all that reign, was made Lord Chancellor by James I. in the year 1616, at which time he wrote this history. Having lived, therefore, so near the times of which he wrote, it is natural to suppose, he was better acquainted with the transactions of those times, than any historian we have. Indeed his history of *Henry* the seventh, is the best extant of that reign, and nothing has prevented its being universally read, but the uncouthness of its language, and being only to be found

found amidst his other voluminous works ; to a modern ear, the Editor of these sheets flatters himself, therefore, it will not be unacceptable to the Public to have it presented to them in a new dress, and in a volume by itself. The speeches and state papers are here given as in the original; unaltered, and, indeed, wherever there was any brilliancy in Lord St Alban's diction, the Editor has endeavored to preserve it; his design not being to new write the History, but to smooth the old language, and render it rather more pleasant to the ear.

H I S T O R Y

H E N R Y VII.

AFTER Richard the Third, who was considered as a tyrant and usurper, was, by the vengeance of Divine Providence, overthrown and slain in Bosworth Field, he was succeeded by the Earl of Richmond *, thenceforth styled Henry the Seventh. Having been bred under a devout mother, and being in his nature a great observer of religious forms, Henry, immediately after his victory, caused *Te Deum* to

* Henry the Seventh was grandson of Sir Owen Tudor, by the father's side; and, by the mother's, grandson of John Earl of Somerset, who was the grandson of John of Gaunt, and was twenty-seven years of age when he came to the Crown of England.

be sung in presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself, with great and general applause, in a kind of military election, saluted King, whilst the body of *Richard*, after many indignities and reproaches, was obscurely buried ; for though *Henry* gave it in charge to the monks of *Leicester* to give it honourable interment, yet his directions were not followed ; for these friars, like the common people, were prejudiced with vulgar notions, and deemed *Richard* to have been the worst of men : Nor were they censured on this account, as no ignominy was thought unworthy of him who had been the executioner of *Henry* the Sixth, the contriver of his brother's death the Duke of *Clarence*, the murderer of his two nephews*, and was strongly suspected of poisoning his wife, in order to make way for an incestuous marriage ; for though he was allowed to be a prince of great military virtue, jealous of the honour of the

* Mr. Horace Walpole, in his *Historic Doubts*, intimates, that Edward the Fifth was not murdered in the Tower, to make way for Richard's ascending the Throne ; for that he has discovered by a record, that robes were ordered and made for this young Prince to walk at Richard's coronation. This, however, might be, and he murdered nevertheless.

English nation, and a good law-maker, yet his cruelties and parricides weighed down his virtues and his merits, and even those virtues themselves, in the opinion of the dispassionate, were conceived to be rather feigned and affected, in order to forward his ambition, than true qualities inherent in his nature. It was therefore remarked by men of discernment, judging of his former proceedings by his subsequent conduct, that even in the eyes of his brother *Edward* the Fourth, he was always plotting against his government, and rendering it obnoxious to the people, hoping and expecting that, from his ill state of health, *Edward* could not live long, and that, as his sons would be left young, he, of course, would be Protector, and that it would be no very difficult task to step from the Protectorship to the Throne. Hence it was, that, as well as at the treaty of peace between *Edward* the Fourth and *Louis* the Eleventh of France, concluded by interview between the two Kings at *Piqueny*, as on all other occasions, *Richard* the Third, then Duke of *Glocester*, affecting to be actuated by a principle of honour, endeavoured to raise

his own reputation at the expence of his brother, and draw the eyes of the nobility and soldiers upon himself; as if the King, by a voluptuous life and mean marriage, was unworthy of the Crown he wore. The political and wholsome laws that were enacted in *Richard's* reign, were considered only as the arts and *finesse* of a usurper, who, from a consciousness of his own wickedness, hoped, by some popular acts, to win over the people to his side.

Henry, however, in the very beginning of his reign, and at that instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty to determine. He had three different claims to the Crown of England. The first was the title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Edward* the Fourth, whom, by compact, before he was brought in, he agreed to marry; the second was the ancient and long disputed claim (both by plea and arms) of the House of *Lancaster*, of which he was inheritor in his own person; the third was the claim of conquest, having slain the late king in battle. The first of these was fairest, and most likely to give general content to

to a people, who, by a reign of two and twenty years under *Edward* the Fourth, were reconciled to the title of the House of York, and who, by the mildness of that reign in *Edward's* latter days, were attached to that family. But then it lay plain before him, that if he (*Henry*) relied upon that title solely, he could only be a King by courtesy, and have rather a matrimonial than a regal power, the right remaining in his Queen, on whose decease, either with issue or without, he should be liable to be removed. And though he might obtain a continuance by parliament, yet he was sensible there was a very great difference between a king that holds his crown by a civil act of the States, and one that held it by the law of nature and descent. Neither wanted there, even at that time, secret rumours (which afterwards gathered strength) that the two sons of *Edward* the Fourth, or at least one of them, which were said to be murdered, were not put to death, but were conveyed away and were yet living, which, if true, would have set aside the claim even of the Lady *Elizabeth*. On the other hand, if he stood upon his own title, that of the

HISTORY OF HENRY VII.

House of *Lancaster*, inherent in his own person, he knew it was a title condemned by parliament, generally prejudged in the common opinion of the people, and tended immediately to the exclusion of the line of *York*, held then to be the lawful heirs of the Crown; so that, should he have no children by the Lady *Elizabeth*, who would be descendants of the double line, the ancient flames of discord and intestine wars, would, in a contest with both houses, return again and revive.

As to his claim by conquest, notwithstanding the ornamental crown which *Richard* wore in the field of battle, and was found among the spoils, was put upon *Henry's* head by *Sir William Stanley*, amidst the acclamations of the army, as if there lay his chief title to the Throne; yet being conscious on what conditions his party brought him in, and as to claim under the idea of conquest would be setting that party at defiance, he was fearful of doing it. Besides, the right of conquest, which gives the victor power of disannulling laws and disposing of mens fortunes and estates, is too arbitrary a claim for policy to countenance; for even

William

William the First, however he might exercise his power as a conqueror, in order to reward his Norman followers, forebore to use that claim at first, but mixed it with a titular pretence, grounded on the will of *Edward* the Confessor. This reasoning likewise had its weight: *Henry*, however, from the greatness of his mind, personally cast the die; knowing there could not be any inter-reign or suspension of title, preferring his own line and blood, and liking that title best which made him independent, resolved to rest chiefly on the claim of the House of *Lancaster*, and to use the other two, those of marriage and of conquest, as supporters only; the one to appease secretcontents, the other to crush open murmur and dispute; for, being naturally an entertainer of fortune by the day, and not dreading events at a distance, he thought it best to stand by this claim, especially as the House of *Lancaster* had possessed the Crown uninterrupted for three reigns, and might have maintained a perpetuity, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last prince.

Henry, therefore, on the very day that Richard was slain, (August 22, 1485,) assumed in his own name the title of King, without any relation to the Lady Elizabeth, and persisted in it afterwards. Before he left Leicester, he dispatched Sir Robert W^{il}loughby to the Castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire, where, by order of Richard, the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth, and Edward Plantagenet*, son and heir to George Duke of Clarence, were confined. Edward was, by Henry's warrant, delivered into the hands of Sir Robert W^{il}loughby, and by him conveyed to the Tower of London, and shut up close prisoner. This act of the King's proceeded not from any apprehension of the young gentleman's succeeding to the Crown, but from a political determination to depress all eminent persons of the line of York, which betrayed rather in Henry a spirit of party.

As to the Lady Elizabeth, she was directed to repair with all convenient speed to London, and there to remain with the Queen-Dowager her mother, which she soon after

* This was Edward Earl of Warwick.

did, accompanied with many of the nobility, male and female. In the mean time, the King proceeded by easy journeys to *London*, receiving the acclamations and applause of the people as he passed, which, from the fulness of the cry, seemed true and unfeigned. They looked upon him as a Prince, ordained and sent from heaven to unite and put an end to the long dissensions of the two houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, which, though in the reigns of *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, and part of that of *Henry* the Sixth, on one side, and the reign of *Edward* the Fourth, on the other, some lucid intervals and happy pauses had intervened ; yet the spirit of faction still hung over the kingdom, ready to break forth afresh. As his victory gave him the knee, and his intended marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth* the heart, both heart and knee were bowed before him.

Henry, on the other side, sensible of the affections and fears of the people, with great wisdom, removed every idea of conquest and grandeur, that there should be nothing throughout his journey like any march or warlike appearance, but that it should resemble

semble the progress of a King in full peace and assurance.

He entered *London* on a Saturday, which he accounted as a prosperous day, having obtained his victory on that day of the week. The Lord Mayor and Companies of the city received him at *Shoreditch*, attended with troops of noblemen and men of rank. He was in a close chariot, rather chusing to strike the people with reverence than court their applause by any triumphal entry.

He went first into St. *Paul's* Church, where, not meaning that the people should too soon forget that he came in by conquest, he made an offering of his standards, and had oraizon and *Te Deum* again sung. This ceremony over, he retired to the Bishop of *London's* house in *Bishopsgate-street*, where he continued for some time.

During his abode there, he assembled his Council and other principal persons, in presence of whom he renewed his promise of marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*. He did this the rather now, because in leaving *Brittany*, having artfully given some hopes (to secure his own purposes) that in case he obtained the

the kingdom, he would marry *Anne*, the heiress of the duchy of *Brittany*, whom *Charles the Eighth of France* soon after married, it had created suspicions of his insincerity, and had given uneasiness to the Lady *Elizabeth*. But though he designed to marry her, and wished it to be so believed, yet he determined not to do it till after his coronation, and a parliament had sat. The one, left a joint coronation of himself and his Queen might give any countenance to a participation of title; the other, left in the entailing the crown upon himself, which he hoped to do by an act of parliament, the votes of such parliament might any way reflect upon her.

About this time in autumn, towards the end of *September*, 1485, there broke out in the city, and other parts of the kingdom, a disease, then new, which, from its symptoms and manner, was called the *sweating sickness*. This disease had a swift course; for those who were seized with it and lived twenty-four hours, were thought to be safe. It raged only from about the 21st of *September* to the end of *October*; so that the coronation took place on the last day but one
of

of *October*, and a parliament met seven days after. It was a pestilential fever, not apparently seated in the veins or humours of the body, for it was not attended with any eruptions, purple or livid spots, or the like, the mafs of blood not being tainted ; but it was a malign vapour only, which flew to the heart, and seized the vital spirits, which made nature throw it off by a proper sweat. It appeared also by experience, that this disease was rather a surprise of nature than otherwise, for if taken in time it was not obstinate to be cured. If the patient was kept in an equal temperature, both for cloaths, fire, and drink, moderately warm, with temperate cordials, neither irritated by heat nor checked by cold, he commonly recovered. Great numbers, however, died of it, before the manner of cure was known. It was not conceived to be an epidemic disease, but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the air, gathered by the pre-dispositions of seasons. This was evident from its speedy termination.

On the Eve of St. *Simon* and St. *Jude*, the King dined with Cardinal *Bourchier*, Archbishop

bishop of *Canterbury*, and from *Lambeth* went by land over *London Bridge* to the Tower, where the next day he made twelve Knights Bannerets. As to Peers, he created but few; for, notwithstanding a battle so lately fought, and a coronation so near at hand, he only created three; *Jasper Earl of Pembroke*, his uncle, was created Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas Lord Stanley*, his father-in-law, Earl of *Derby*; and *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devon*; though he had it in contemplation to make more in time of parliament.

His coronation followed two days after, October 30, 1485; at which time *Innocent VIII.* was Pope; *Frederick III.* Emperor of *Germany*, and his son *Maximilian* newly chosen King of the Romans; *Charles VIII.* was the *French King*; *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Spain*; and *James III.* was King of *Scotland*, with all whom *England* was at that time in peace and amity. On the day of his coronation, as if the crown upon his head possessed his thoughts with danger, he instituted, for the better security of his person, a band of fifty archers under a captain, to attend him, and called them, *Yeomen of his Guard*; and yet that this institution might
be

be thought a matter of dignity, rather than to arise from any fear of personal safety, he caused it to be understood, that this band of yeomen should not be a temporary appointment, but should continue as the King's body guard to future ages.

On the 7th of November he held a parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned soon after his coming to London. His views in calling this parliament so speedily, were chiefly three; first, to procure an entail of the crown upon himself; next, to have the attaunders of all his party (which were numerous) reversed, and all acts of hostility by them done remitted and discharged, and also to attaint the chief of his enemies; and lastly, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that party by a general pardon; not being ignorant that a King stands in danger from his subjects, when most of his subjects are conscious that they stand in danger of him. To these three special motions of a parliament, he had also another, namely, to hasten to let his people see, that though he came in by the sword, he meant to govern by law, and that they might know him for their King, whom they had

had lately considered as an enemy or banished man. With respect to the entailing the crown (except that he would not have any mention made of the Lady *Elizabeth's* name) he was very prudent and circumspect ; as on the one hand, he did not press to have the act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right ; so, on the other, he avoided having it settled by any new law or ordinance, but chose rather a middle way, a kind of establishment under covert words ; that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King, &c. which words might equally be applied ; that the crown should continue to himself, whether, as having an original right to it (which was doubtful) or being then in possession of it, was left fair to interpretation either way. And then, as to the limitation of the entail, he did not urge it farther than to himself and the heirs of his body, not speaking of his *right* heirs, but leaving that to the law to decide ; so as that the entail might seem rather a personal favour to him and to his children, than a total exclusion of the House of *York*. In this form was the law drawn and passed, and confirmed the next year by the Pope's bull,

bull, mentioning, by way of recital, his other claims to the crown, both of descent and conquest.

The King likewise gained his point with respect to reversing the attainters of his partizans, who were discharged from all offences incident to his service and assistance. In passing this bill, however, exception was made to divers persons in the House of Commons, as being attainted themselves, and therefore not eligible to serve in parliament. The truth was, that many of those who had in *Richard's* time been of *Henry's* party were returned to parliament, and *Richard* had since attainted them by outlawries, or otherwise. This hurt *Henry* much; for though it had a specious shew, it reflected upon his friends. He, however, wisely concealed his dissatisfaction at this, took up the matter as a case in law, and had the advice of the judges upon the occasion, which was, that such members as were attainted by the course of law, should not attend the House till their attainters were reversed.

It was also a matter of discussion among the judges, what should be done for the King himself, who was likewise attainted?

Their determination was, that the crown took away all defects or stops in blood, and that from the moment the King assumed the crown, the channel was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged. It was nevertheless, for honour's sake, ordained by parliament, that all records wherein there was any mention of, or allusion to, the King's attainder, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the file.

But on the part of the King's enemies, there were by parliament attainted, the late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself *Richard III.* the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surry, Viscount Lovel, Lord Ferrars, Lord Zouch, *Richard Ratcliff*, *William Catesby*, and many others. In which bills of attainder were contained, however, many just and temperate clauses, savings, and provisoies, declaratory of the King's wisdom and moderation. And for the pardon of the rest who had opposed the King, he chose it should be an act of his own, rather than that of his parliament. He therefore published his royal proclamation, offering pardon to all such as had taken arms against or op-

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posed him, provided they submitted themselves to his mercy by a certain day, and took the oath of allegiance and fidelity. Whereupon many came out of sanctuary, and many more out of fear, no less guilty than those who had taken sanctuary, and were pardoned.

With respect to money, *Henry* did not think it a fit time to ask his parliament for any ; especially as owing to the great forfeitures and confiscations, he could help himself. Some few laws passed in this parliament, almost for form's sake ; amongst which was one to make aliens, being made denizens, pay stranger's customs ; and another to draw to himself the seizures and compositions of the merchandize of Italians, for non-employment, being a matter of profit, to which he was not innatentive, even in the beginning of his reign, and would have been more happy at the end of it, had that early foresight, which kept him from the necessity of exacting upon his people, made him more considerate than he was. During this parliament he ennobled a few other men. Lord *Chandois* of *Brittany* was created Earl of *Bath*, Sir *Giles Daubeney* was

was made Lord *Daubeney*, and Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brook*.

The King also, with true greatness and bounty, (which virtues had place in his nature by turns) restored *Edward Stafford*, eldest son of *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, attainted in the time of *Richard*, not only to his dignities, but to his fortunes and great possessions. His motive to this was gratitude, the Duke being the first person that opposed the tyranny of King *Richard*, and indeed made for *Henry* a bridge to the crown, even upon his own ruins.

The parliament being dissolved, the King sent money to redeem the Marquis of *Dorset* and Sir *John Bouchier*, whom he had left as hostages at *Paris*, for money he had borrowed, when he made his expedition into *England*. Upon this occasion he sent the Lord Treasurer and Mr. *Bray* to the Lord Mayor of *London*, requiring of the City a loan of 6000 marks, but could obtain only 2000; which, however, he took in good part, as men generally do, who borrow money when they have no need of it.

About this time the King made *John Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox*

Bishop of *Exeter*, privy counsellors. These were vigilant and secret men, both versed in his affairs, and had been partakers of his adverse fortune. On the death of *Bouchier*, soon after, *Morton* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox* was appointed Lord Keeper of the privy seal, and afterwards advanced by degrees from *Exeter* to *Bath* and *Wells*, thence to *Durham*, and last to *Winchester*; for though *Henry* loved to employ and advance bishops, because a rich bishoprick was a good reward, yet he seldom raised them but by steps, that he might not lose the benefit of the first fruits, which by such gradations were multiplied.

At last upon the 18th of *January* 1486, (new stile) the so long expected and much desired marriage between the King and the Lady *Elizabeth* was solemnized. This day was celebrated, especially on the people's part, with greater triumph and demonstrations of joy, than either those of his entry or coronation, which *Henry* rather remarked than approved. And it is true, that all his lifetime, whilst the Queen lived (for she died before him) he was far from an indulgent husband, though she was beautiful, gentle

gentle and fruitful. Thus was his aversion to the house of *York* so predominant that it found place, not only in his wars and counsels, but in his chamber and in his bed.

Though *Henry*, from having been victorious in battle, from carrying every thing before him in parliament, and having the acclamations of his people fresh in his ears, was full of confidence, and thought the rest of his reign would be little more than enjoyment; yet, as a wise and watchful king, he neglected nothing conducive to his safety. Being informed that the northern parts of *England* were not only attached to the house of *York*, but had been particularly devoted to King *Richard* the Third, he thought it would be a Summer well spent, to visit those parts, and by his presence endeavour to bring them over to his interest. He however overrated his popularity, for he no sooner came to *Lincoln*, where he kept his Easter, but he received news that Lord *Lovel*, *Humphrey Stafford* and *Thomas Stafford*, who had formerly taken sanctuary at *Colchester*, had left that place, and none could tell where they were gone. This information he thought little of, and pursued his

journey to York. There he heard that Lord *Lovel* was at hand, with a great body of men, and that the *Staffords* were in arms in *Worcestershire*, and had approached the city of *Worcester* to take possession of it. As a prince of great and profound judgment, *Henry* was not much disturbed at this news, conceiving it to be a remnant only of the *Bosworth-field* party, and no way attached to the house of *York*. He was more fearful of not being able to raise forces to resist these rebels, than of the rebels themselves, being in the heart of a people whose affections he suspected. The business however admitting of no delay, he speedily raised 3000 men, ill armed, but well attached to him, being selected out of his own train and the tenants and followers of such as he could trust; these he sent against Lord *Lovel*, under the command of the Duke of *Bedford*. And as his manner was to make his pardons rather precede the sword than follow it, he commissioned the Duke to proclaim pardon to all who would come in, which, on his approach to Lord *Lovel's* camp, he did; and it fell out as the King expected. His heralds were his ordnance.

Lord

Lord *Lovel*, on the proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into *Lancashire*, and after lurking for a time with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, passed over into *Flanders* to the Lady *Margaret**. His men, forsaken by their leader, presently submitted. The *Staffords* likewise and their forces, hearing what had happened to Lord *Lovel*, in whom their chief trust was, despaired and dispersed. The two brothers took sanctuary at *Colnham*, a village near *Abingdon*, which place, upon enquiry, not being found a sufficient sanctuary for traitors, *Humphry* was executed at *Tyburn*, and *Thomas*, as being led on by his elder brother, was pardoned. Thus did this rebellion prove only a blast, and the King, having, by this journey, purged the northern people a little of their dregs and leaven, returned to *London*.

The 20th of September following, the Queen was delivered of her first-born son, whom the King, in honour of the British race, of which he was himself descended, named *Arthur*. The child was strong and able, though born in the eighth month.

* Duchess of Burgundy, Edward IV's second Sister.

This year, being the second of *Henry's* reign, a strange circumstance happened, the particulars of which are so inconsistent with each other, as scarce to leave them credible. However, such as they are, we will relate them, and endeavour to unfold the story. Contrary to his own opinion and deserts, *Henry* was not without his enemies. His discountenancing the house of *York*, to which numbers were attached, was the root of much discontent. It alienated the hearts of his subjects from him, daily more and more, especially when they saw that after his marriage and the birth of a son, he did not proceed to the coronation of his *Queen*; for this ceremony did not take place till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do. The people were still more angry, when it was spread abroad (whether by error or malevolence) that *Henry* designed to put *Edward*, the son of the Duke of *Clarence*, then a prisoner in the Tower, to death privately; whose case was so similar to that of *Edward* the Fourth's children, both with respect to blood, age, and place of confinement, that it led to reflections

flections upon the King, as if he would turn out another *Richard*. All this time it was whispered about, that at least one of the sons of *Edward* the Fourth was living. The report was artfully cherished by the King's enemies, nor was his nature or conduct at all calculated to disperse such a story, but rather tended to encourage it.

In *Oxfordshire*, there lived one *Richard Simon* †, a subtle priest, who had a pupil named *Lambert Simnel*, a comely, well-favoured youth, about fifteen years old, a lad not without some dignity and grace of aspect. It came into this priest's head (from public talk, and with the hopes of getting a bishoprick) to make this lad at first counterfeit and personate the second son of *Edward* the Fourth, supposed to have been murdered by order of *Richard* the Third; and afterwards, as he altered his plan, to pass him for *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Clarence*'s son, then a prisoner in the Tower; for which purpose he instructed

† The Priest's name was William Simonds, and the youth was the son of an organ-maker at Oxford, as the Priest declared before the whole convocation of the clergy at Lambeth, Feb. 17. 1487. *Vide Reg. Morton*, p. 34. *MS. Sancroft*.

him in the part he was to play. This is what seems scarcely credible; not that a person should assume a false appearance, in order to gain a kingdom; for this trick had been more than once played, nor that it should enter the brain of so low a fellow to undertake so great a thing; for high conceits do sometimes invade the imaginations of very low people, especially when intoxicated with news and common talk: but, that this priest, utterly unacquainted with the person of the Earl of *Warwick*, should think it possible to instruct this youth to personate him either in gesture, manner, or in recounting the past occurrences of his life and education, or in answering pertinently questions, or the like, any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to represent, is wonderful. For this lad was not to personate one that was conveyed away in his infancy, and known only to few, but a youth that till the age almost of ten years had been brought up in a court, where a great number of eyes had been upon him. For King *Edward*, touched with remorse at his brother *Clarence*'s death, would not restore the son we
are

are now speaking of, so as to make him Duke of *Clarence*, but yet created him Earl of *Warwick*, reviving his honours on the mother's side, and treated him well during the time he reigned, though *Richard* thought proper to confine him. Of course, some great person, familiarly acquainted with *Edward Plantagenet*, must have taken part in this business. It was most probably the Queen Dowager, who was at the bottom of it; for certain it is, she was a busy woman; and in her drawing-room, the fortunate conspiracy against *Richard* the Third, and in favour of *Henry*, was laid. This the King well knew; and as she was dissatisfied with his conduct, thinking her daughter not well treated, none was more likely to instruct this lad than herself. It does not appear that it was at any time designed that *Lambert Simnel* should possess the crown, but to overthrow the King through *him*. To corroborate this conjecture, we need only say, that it was one of the King's first acts to cloister the Queen Dowager in the nunnery of *Bermondsey*, and to take from her all her lands, and estates, and this not by any legal proceedings, but by far fetched pretences, such

as, that she had delivered her two daughters out of sanctuary to *Richard*, contrary to promise. This rigorous proceeding against her being thought unjust and cruel, it is very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the King, upon reasons of policy, might be unwilling to publish. It is no small argument likewise, that there was a secret suppression of examinations; for *Simon* himself, after he was taken, was never brought to execution, nor even to a public trial (which many clergymen had been, on less reasons) but was only close shut up in a dungeon. Add to this, that after the Earl of *Lincoln*, a principal person in the house of *York*, was slain in *Stokefield*, the King declared to some of his council, that he was sorry for his death, as through him he might have known the bottom of his danger.

But to return to the story. *Simon* first instructed his scholar to represent *Richard Duke of York*, the second son of *Edward the Fourth*. This was at the time when it was said, that the King meant to put *Edward Plantagenet* to death. But hearing soon after that *Edward* had escaped out of the Tower, and

and that the people rejoiced much at his escape, the cunning priest altered his plan, and chose now that *Plantagenet* should be the subject his pupil should personate, as being more the public topic of conversation. But, lest it should be more narrowly looked into, if the scene of action was on the spot, he thought it best to shew his puppet at a distance, and for this purpose failed with his scholar into *Ireland*, where an attachment to the House of *York* was greatest and most general. The King had been a little incautious with respect to this country, and had not changed such officers and leading men as he should have done, knowing how prejudiced that people was in favour of the *York* interest; but trusting to the reputation of his victories and successes here, he thought he should have time enough to extend his cares to *Ireland* at some future time.

It was through this neglect, that upon the landing of *Simon*, with his pretended *Plantagenet* in *Ireland*, the whole country was as ready for revolt, as if matters had been prepared beforehand. *Simon's* first address was to *Thomas Fitzgerald* Earl of *Kildare*,

Kildare, then Lord-deputy, before whose eyes, by his own insinuation and the princely carriage of the youth, he threw such a mist, as, added to the Earl's self-love and ambition, left him fully possessed, that *Lambert* was the true *Plantagenet*. The Earl presently imparted the secret to some of the nobility, and they believed it likewise; they then suffered it to be talked of in public, to sound the disposition of the people. No sooner was it known abroad, but the Irish were eager to support his cause, partly out of affection to the House of *York*, and partly with the proud hopes of giving *England* a King. Nor did the attainder of *George* Duke of *Clarence* check them, the King having shewn them in himself, that attainders do not interrupt the conveyance of title to the crown. As for the daughters of *Edward* the Fourth, King *Richard* had said enough for them, and they were considered as of *Henry*'s party, being in his power and at his disposal. So that with wonderful consent and applause, this counterfeit *Plantagenet* was brought with great solemnity to the Castle of *Dublin*, and there saluted, served and honoured as a King,

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the boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that betrayed his low extraction. And within a few days after, he was proclaimed King at Dublin, by the name of *Edward* the Sixth, there not being a sword drawn in favour of King *Henry*.

When this unexpected news came to *Henry*'s ears, it disturbed him much; because it was in a place where the people were most disaffected, and where he could not with any degree of safety go himself to suppress it. He therefore summoned a council at the Charter House at *Sheen*, which came to the following resolutions.

1st. That the Queen Dowager should be cloistered in *Bermondsey Nunnery*, and forfeit all her lands and goods, for having, contrary to her agreement with those who concluded with her concerning the marriage of her daughter *Elizabeth* with the King, delivered her daughter out of sanctuary into King *Richard*'s hands.

2^d. That *Edward Plantagenet*, then close prisoner in the Tower, should, in the most public and open manner, be shewed to the people, partly to remove the false report of his having been put to death privately, but chiefly

chiefly to let the people see the absurdity of the proceedings in *Ireland*, and that their *Plantagenet* was indeed but a puppet or a counterfeit.

3d. And that there should be issued a fresh proclamation of pardon to all that would reveal their offences, and submit themselves by a certain day, and that pardon should be so unlimited as not to except even high treason against the King's own person, which was a determination of the highest prudence, as a King's greatest danger rises not from the *least* treasons but the *greatest*. These resolutions were immediately carried into execution. The Queen Dowager was put into the Monastery of *Bermondsey*, and all her estates confiscated; which created much wonder, that a weak woman, for yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant; after such a distance of time, and for an offence at which the King had shewn no displeasure, and much more after so happy a marriage between the King and her daughter, and blessed with a son, should upon so sudden a disclosure of the King's mind, be so severely handled.

This Lady was an example of a great variety of fortune. She had been first, from a distressed suitor, and desolate widow*, taken to the marriage-bed of a bachelor King, the finest personage of his time; but had even in his reign endured a strange eclipse by the King's flight, and temporary deprivation of the crown; though blessed in a charming progeny, and sharing her husband's love till he died. Her affection to her own kindred gave great offence to those of *Edward*, and caused such factions as gave her great uneasiness: after this, she lived to see her brother beheaded, her two sons deposed, bastardised, and cruelly murdered. During this time, however, she enjoyed her liberty, her state and fortune; but afterwards again, though she had a King for her son-in-law, yet was she, upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences, shut up from the world, where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where, not long after, she ended her life. By *Henry's* order,

* She was the widow of Sir John Grey of Grafton, Bucks.

she was buried with her husband at *Wind-sor*.[†] For this act, the King was much censured, but the censure was sweetened by a confiscation of her property.

Edward Plantagenet was, upon a Sunday, conducted through all the principal streets of *London*, that the people might see him, and was afterwards brought to *St. Paul's* in solemn procession, where a great multitude was gathered. Care was taken in his way through the city and suburbs, that many persons of quality, and those whom *Henry* most suspected, and who were best acquainted with *Edward*, should converse with him. But notwithstanding this, it wrought little or no effect in *Ireland*, when it was too late to recede. The people then charged *Henry* with injustice, and gave out, that the King, to defeat the true heir and mock the world, had picked up a boy in the likeness of *Edward Plantagenet*, and shewed him to the public, not sparing the ceremony of a procession in order to countenance the deception.

The general pardon came forth nearly at the same time, and orders were given to

[†] She was the founder of Queen's College, Cambridge.
attend

attend to the ports, that no fugitives, malecontents or suspected persons might pass over into *Ireland* or *Flanders*.

In the interim the rebels in *Ireland* sent privy messengers both into *England* and *Flanders*, and to some purpose. In *England* they brought over to their party, *John Earl of Lincoln*, son of *John de la Pool Earl of Suffolk*, and of *Elizabeth*, *Edward* the Fourth's eldest sister. This nobleman was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly raised for a time, by hopes and expectations; for *Richard* the Third designed, out of hatred to both his brothers, *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence*, in the blood of both of whom he had his hand, to disable their issue; the one by attainer, the other by illegitimation, and place this gentleman (in case he should be without children) upon the throne. This *Henry* knew, but having angered the people by imprisoning *Edward Plantagenet*, he was fearful of encreasing that anger by the imprisonment of *La Pool* also; judging it rather policy to preserve him as a rival to the other. The Earl of *Lincoln* was induced to take part with the Irish, not lightly, upon the strength of the

proceedings there, but upon letters from the Princess Margaret, of *Burgundy*, who also espoused their cause. The Earl knew that *Lambert* was an impostor, but this he did not dislike, for knowing that the false *Plantagenet* must fall away of himself, and that *Henry* would dispose of the other, it might pave a way to his own title. With this resolution he sailed secretly for *Flanders*, where he met with Lord *Lovel*, just arrived before him, having settled a correspondence in *England* with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a man of great interest in *Lancashire*. For before this time, when the pretended *Plantagenet* was first received in *Ireland*, secret messengers had been dispatched to the Princess *Margaret*, imploring her assistance in an enterprize (as they called it) so pious and so just, and which God had so miraculously prospered at the outset; and proposing that all things should be guided by her will, as the sovereign patroness and protectress of the enterprize. *Margaret* was second sister to *Edward* the fourth, and had been second wife to *Charles*, surnamed the *Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom, having no children of her own, she with singular care and tenderness,

dernes, undertook the education of *Philip* and *Margaret*, grand-children to her former husband, which gained her much love and authority among the Dutch. This princess, having the spirit of a man and the malice of a woman, abounding in wealth by the greatness of her dower, and having no children, wished to see the crown of England once more in her own family ; for this purpose, she considered *Henry* as a mark against whom she directed all her artillery, and his future troubles chiefly arose from this quarter. She bore such a mortal hatred to the house of *Lancaster*, and to *Henry* in particular, that she despised her neice for being any way instrumental to his wearing the crown. She of course embraced this proposal of the Irish, and on counsel taken with the Earl of *Lincoln* and Lord *Lovel*, and some other of the party, it was resolved that these two Lords should, assisted with a regiment of two thousand Germans, choice and veteran bands, under the command of *Martin Swart*, an experienced leader, pass over into *Ireland* to succour the new King ; hoping, that when the enterprize should carry a face of received and settled royalty,

with such a second person as the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the conjunction of foreign succours, it would encourage and prepare the male-contents and confederates in England, to give them assistance when they should come over there. As for the person of *Lambert*, if all things succeeded well, he was to be set aside, and the true *Plantagenet* received; wherein notwithstanding, the Earl of *Lincoln* had his hopes.

After they were landed in *Ireland*, the party seeing themselves together in a body, took courage and grew very confident of success. They conceived they had a much better opportunity of overthrowing *Henry*, than *Henry* had to overthrow *Richard*; and were persuaded, that as there was not a sword drawn against them in *Ireland*, those in *England* would be either soon sheathed or beaten down. On this accession of power, they crowned their new King at *Dublin*, and then sat in council to determine what further should be done. It was proposed by some, to establish themselves first in *Ireland*, to make that the seat of war, and draw *Henry* there in person; in hopes that by his absence from *England*, great alterations and commotions

motions would there take place ; but, as upon more mature deliberation, it was thought *Ireland* was too poor to keep their army together and pay the German troops, and as the Irish were ever anxious to pass over into England, with the hopes of making their fortunes ; it was concluded to transport their force there with all possible expedition. In the mean time, *Henry* who, when he first heard what was doing in *Ireland*, conceived he should be soon able to suppress this insurrection, and rattle away this rebellious swarm of bees with their King ; yet when he learned that the Earl of *Lincoln* was embarked in the cause, and that the Duchess of *Burgundy* had declared for it, he apprehended some danger, and saw plainly that he must now fight for it. When the news first came of Lord *Lincoln* sailing from *Flanders* into *Ireland*, *Henry* expected an attack both in the Eastern parts of *England*, by some impression from *Flanders*, and also in the North-west, out of *Ireland*. He ordered musters therefore to be made in both places under two generals, *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, meaning to go himself into that quarter where

his presence might be most necessary. However, the winter being far gone, and not expecting any actual invasion then, he took a journey into *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, in order to strengthen those counties in his interest. When he reached *St. Edmundsbury*, he was informed that *Thomas Marquis of Dorset*, who had been one of his hostages in *France*, was hastening to him, in order to clear himself of some accusations which had been thrown out against him. But the King, though he was disposed to listen to him, yet, at the present conjuncture, thought proper to send the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him, and take him immediately to the Tower, telling him, however, to bear his disgrace with patience, for that the King meant not to hurt him, but merely to prevent his doing any act that might injure either his majesty or himself; and that the King, when he had cleared himself from the charges against him, would be always able to make him reparation.

From *St. Edmundsbury*, Henry went to *Norwich*, where he kept his christmas: from thence in a kind of pilgrimage he went to *Walsingham*, where he entered the church, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliver-

deliverance; from thence he returned by *Cambridge* to *London*. Not long after, the rebels with their King, under the command of the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, Lord *Lovel*, and Colonel *Swart*, landed at *Fouldrey* in *Lancashire*, and were immediately joined by Sir *Thomas Broughton*, and a small party of English. *Henry* knowing now that the storm would not divide but rage in one place, levied a great number of forces, and taking with him the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*, made the best of his way to *Coventry*, whence he dispatched a troop of light-horse to reconnoitre and intercept the straggling enemy, hoping thus to get at the particulars of their progress and purposes.

The rebels marched towards *York*, but without laying waste the country, or committing any act of hostility, hoping thus to conciliate the favour of the people; but they missed their aim, for as they passed, the people did not come into them, neither did any rise or declare for them in any other part of the Kingdom, owing to the mildness of *Henry's* government, the reputation of his happiness, and not liking to have

have a king brought in upon the shoulders of the Irish and the Dutch, of which their army was chiefly composed. It was an ill judged step of the rebels, to take their way towards York ; for though part of the country had been a nursery of their friends, yet it was there where Lord *Lovel* had lately deserted his followers, and where *Henry* had so short a time since reconciled the people to him by his presence. The Earl of *Lincoln* was disposed to temporise, but finding himself not joined by any of the country, and seeing the business past retracting from, resolved to make towards the King, and give him battle ; he marched therefore to *Newark*, thinking to surprise the town ; but *Henry* had sometime before reached *Nottingham*, and had called a council of war, wherein it was determined to accelerate a battle as soon as possible, especially as great numbers joined him from all parts of the Kingdom.

The principal persons who came then to the King's aid, were the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Lord *Strange*, more than seventy gentlemen and six thousand fighting men. *Henry* finding himself so reinforced, and such an alacrity

alacrity in all his men to fight, marched towards the enemy, and put himself between their camp and *Newark*, not willing they should get the advantage of that town. The Earl of *Lincoln*, not the least disheartened, came forwards also that day, to a village called *Stoke*, and encamped that night on the brow of a hill. *Henry* the next day offered him battle in the plain; the country being there open. The Earl courageously came down and attacked the Royalists, and so poor are the accounts that are handed down to us of this battle, that they rather declare the success of the day, than the manner of the engagement. We are told however, that the King divided his army into three battalions, of which the vanguard only, supported by wings, engaged; that the battle was fierce and obstinate, and continued three hours before victory inclined either way; that the King's battalion supported themselves against the whole power of the enemy, the other two remaining out of action; that Colonel *Swart*, with his Germans, performed bravely, so did the few English on their side, nor did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness; but

but being ill-armed, only with darts and short swords, it was rather an execution than a fight with them, so that the great slaughter made of them, was a discouragement to the rest. No ground was given, the battle was well supported, but in the end, the King was victorious. All the rebel leaders that day fell, viz. the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, Lord *Lovel*, Colonel *Swart* and Sir *Thomas Broughton*. It was reported, indeed, that Lord *Lovel* fled and swam over the *Trent* on horseback, but not being able to recover the further side, owing to the steepness of the bank, was drowned. Another report said, that he lived a long time after in some cave or vault. This action was on the sixth of June 1487, in which at least 4000 of the rebel party were slain; but of the King's battalion, not above one half, and those merely rank and file. Among the prisoners taken, were *Lambert Simnel*, the counterfeit *Plantagenet*, and the crafty priest his tutor. Henry considered *Simnel* only as a tool of the party, and had too much magnanimity to take his life; besides it would have been impolitick to have put him to death. Whilst he lived, he would be a continual reproach

to the King's enemies; but had he been executed, he would soon have been forgotten. Under this idea, *Henry* employed him in his Kitchen, and he, who had worn a Crown, now turned the spit. He was afterwards, however, made one of the King's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner and heard of no more.

After the battle *Henry* went to *Lincoln*, where he caused supplications and thanksgivings to be made for his deliverance and victory, and sent his banner to the church of *Walsingham*, where before he had made his vows. Thus delivered from an alarming conspiracy, he returned to his former confidence, and conceived his misfortunes at an end. But it fell out, according to the prophecy of the common people when he came to the crown, that as his reign began with a sickness of sweat, it would continue with labour. Alarmed by his past dangers, he began to take measures not only to root out all seeds of the former rebellion, but to destroy any that might grow in time to come. From *Lincoln*, therefore, he made another progress into the northern parts, and

and his journey was rather a circuit of justice ; for all the way he went, partly by martial law, and partly by commission, he punished the adherents of the late rebels with severity, not all by death, but by fines and ransoms, which, while it spared life, enriched his coffers. Diligent enquiry was made after those who spread about a report, that the rebels a little before the battle obtained the victory, and that the King's army was overthrown, and the King fled, by which it was supposed many were induced to join the enemy that otherwise would not have done it. Under colour also of this report, many withheld their succours from the King, which lukewarm in his cause as they might be, could not otherwise but have come forward to his assistance.

Henry finding that his keeping down the credit of the House of York was that which gave chief offence to his subjects, and being now too wise to despise danger any longer, proceeded at last to the coronation of his Queen. Returning therefore to London, which he entered in a kind of triumph, he celebrated his victory with two days of devotion ; the first day he attended at

St. Paul's, and had *Te Deum* sung; the next he went in procession, and heard a sermon at the Crofs. On the 25th of November the Queen was crowned at *Westminster*; this was the third of his reign, and about two years after his marriage, which unusual distance of time made the public remark, that it was an act he did not like, and would not have submitted to, but for reasons of state. Soon after, the Marquis of *Dorset* was released from his confinement, and without any examination or enquiry into his conduct. At that time also, *Henry* sent an ambassador to the Pope, acquainting him with his marriage, informing him, that like another *Aeneas* he had happily passed through all his difficulties, thanking his Holiness for the honour he did him in sending an ambassador to be present at his nuptials, and making him a tender of his person and his forces upon all occasions.

The ambassador, in delivering himself to the Pope, surrounded by his Cardinals, extolled the King and Queen beyond measure, but at the same time passed so many encomiums on his Holiness, that he was very honourably

honourably entertained ; for *Innocent* was so conscious of his unprofitableness to the Christian world, that he was not a little flattered in hearing himself so well spoken of. He obtained also from the Pope a very just and honourable Bull, rectifying the abuses of sanctuary, by which the King had been much hurt.

He first ordained, that if any sanctuary-man did by night or otherwise get out of sanctuary privily, and commit mischief and trespasses, and then return again, he should lose the benefit of sanctuary for ever after ; next that, however, the person of a sanctuary-man might be protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of sanctuary should not ; and lastly, that if any took sanctuary in cases of treason, the King might appoint him keepers to look to him in sanctuary.

Henry also, for the better securing his country against mutinous and disaffected subjects, of which the realm was full, had, before he left *Newcastle*, sent an ambassador to *James III.* King of *Scotland*, to treat and conclude a peace with him. It is not that *Henry* feared hostilities in that quarter, but he wished to be upon good terms with

JAMES, lest his enemies should take shelter beyond the Tweed. The ambassadors were *Richard Fox*, Bishop of Exeter, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, Comptroller of the Household, who were honourably received. But the King of *Scotland*, labouring under a similar misfortune with *Henry*, that of having discontented subjects apt to rise in rebellion; though he wished to make a peace with the King of *England*, yet finding his nobility averse to it, and not daring to displease them, he could only conclude a truce with them for seven years, promising however privately that it should be renewed from time to time, during the two Kings lives.

Hitherto *Henry* had been employed in settling his affairs at home: but about this time an event took place that called his thoughts abroad. *Charles VIII.* the French King, by the virtue and good fortune of his two immediate predecessors, *Charles* the Seventh his grandfather, and *Louis* the Eleventh his father, came to the crown at a time, when the kingdom was in a more flourishing condition than it had been for many years before; those provinces of

Anjou, *Normandy*, *Provence*, and *Burgundy*, which had anciently been portions of the crown, but afterwards dissevered, and only held in homage, were now added to it again. There remained only *Bretagne* to be re-united, to restore *France* to its ancient boundaries.

King *Charles* was not a little ambitious to re-purchase and re-annex that Duchy. Having newly stepped into the throne, he was, in some measure, guided by his father's determinations; for *Lewis XI.* followed generally his own opinion, and had but few able men about him; and *Lewis* always disliked the designs of *Henry*, and had an eye constantly upon *Bretagne*. There were many circumstances that fed *Charles*'s ambition with apparent hopes of success. The Duke of *Bretagne* old, lethargic, and served by mercenary counsellors, father only of two daughters, the one sickly and not likely to live; King *Charles* himself in the flower of his age, the subjects of *France* well-trained for war, and he at peace with all the neighbouring princes. As for those who might oppose his enterprize he thought little of; for *Maximilian* King of the Romans,

mans, his rival as well for the duchy as the daughter, was feeble in means, and *Henry of England* not only under some obligations to him for favours and benefits, but busied with troubles at home. There was also a specious pretext for waging war with *Bretagne*, the Duke having received and succoured *Louis Duke of Orleans*, and other of the French nobility, who had taken arms against their King. All these things considered, *Charles* resolved upon that war, knowing well that if *Henry* did not oppose him from political views, to prevent the growing greatness of *France*; or from gratitude to the Duke of *Bretagne* for former favours in the time of his distress, he had nothing to fear. He therefore had no sooner heard that victory had again settled *Henry* upon his throne, but he sent ambassadors to him to solicit his assistance, or at least to request that he would stand neutral. These ambassadors found the King at *Leicester*, and delivered themselves to this effect. They first gave *Henry* to understand, that *Charles* their master had been a little before successful against *Maximilian*, in recovering from him certain towns; this was told rather as

in confidence, as if the *French King* did not consider him as a formal confederate, but as one that had part in his affections and fortune, and to whom he took pleasure in communicating his affairs. After this compliment, and some congratulation on *Henry's* victory, they proceeded to their business, declaring that their master was under a necessity of entering into a war with the Duke of *Bretagne*, for having received and succoured those who were declared traitors and enemies to his person and state. That those who fled to him for refuge were not mean, distressed, and calamitous persons, but men of great rank; it being evident that they came not there to protect their own fortunes but to invade his, the principal person being the Duke of *Orleans*, the first Prince of the blood, and the second person in *France*; that such war therefore was rather on their master's part a *defensive* one, than one that was *offensive*, it not being the first blow given that made a war an invasive one, but the first provocation or first preparation; nay, that this war should be considered rather as a suppression of rebels than a war with a just enemy, where the case is,

that

that his subjects traitors, have been well received by the Duke of *Bretagne* his homager. That *Henry* knew well the bad example it would be, if neighbouring Princes should patronise and protect rebels against the law of nations and leagues. That their master was not insensible that *Henry* had been beholden to the Duke of *Bretagne* in his adversity; as they were persuaded *Henry* would not forget also the readiness of their master in aiding him when the Duke of *Bretagne*, or his mercenary counsellors, failed him, or would have betrayed him: that there was a great difference between the favour he had received from the King of *France* and those from the Duke of *Bretagne*; the Duke might have in view utility and bargain, whereas their master could have acted only from sincere affection; for had his conduct been measured by the line of policy, it had been better for his affairs, that a tyrant should have reigned in *England*, troubled and hated; than a Prince whose virtues could not fail to render him great and powerful, whenever he should become thorough master of his concerns; but whatever obligations *Henry* might owe to

the Duke of *Bretagne*, yet their master was well assured, it would not prevent his doing what was just, nor embark him in so ill-grounded a quarrel. Therefore since this war, which their master was now going to declare, was merely to deliver himself from dangers that hung over him ; he hoped the King of *England* would shew the same affection to the preservation of the *French* King's estate, as the *French* King had shewn to the King of *England*'s acquisition of his kingdom. At least, that according to the inclination for peace which *Henry* had ever professed, he would look on and stand neutral, for that their master could not with reason press him to take part in the war, being but so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions. But, with respect to re-annexing the duchy of *Bretagne* to the crown of *France*, the ambassadors said not a word, conscious that it would make against them ; but, on the other hand, gave the subject a fresh turn, by assuring *Henry* that their master meant to marry the daughter of *Maximilian* ; by amusing him with their master's design to recover his right to the kingdom of *Naples*, by an expedition in person

person, thrown out to remove from *Henry* any jealousies he might have of the King of *France's* design upon *Bretagne*, otherwise than merely to quench that fire, which he feared might spread into his own kingdom.

Henry, after advice taken with his Council, gave the ambassadors an answer; first returning their compliment, by saying, he was happy to learn that the *French* King had recovered the towns from *Maximilian*. Then having familiarly related some particular passages of his own adventures, and the victory he had lately gained, he proceeded to the business of *Bretagne*, and told them, that the *French* King and the Duke of *Bretagne* were the two persons to whom of all men he was most obliged, and that he should think himself very unhappy if matters should proceed to such lengths between them, that he should not be able to acquit himself in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him, as a Christian King, and a common friend to both, to satisfy all obligations both to God and man, but to offer himself as a mediator of peace between them, by which he did

not doubt but that their King's estate and person would be preserved with more safety and less envy than by a war ; and that he would spare no cost or pains ; nay, that he would go upon a pilgrimage, if necessary, for so good a purpose ; and concluded, that in this great affair, which he took much to heart, he would express himself more fully by an embassage, which he would speedily dispatch to the *French* King for that purpose. In this manner were the *French* ambassadors dismissed, *Henry* avoiding to understand any thing respecting the re-annexing of *Bretagne* to the *French* crown, as they had not mentioned it, except in his use of the word *envy*.

Henry was neither so weak nor so ill-informed, but he saw through the *French* King's motive in this war, namely, that of adding *Bretagne* to the crown of *France*. He was unwilling, however, to enter into war with *France*, as he dreaded, at the present conjuncture, to put arms into the hands of his own subjects ; yet, as a prudent and courageous Prince, he was not so averse to a war, but that he was resolved to embark in one, rather than suffer *Bretagne* to be carried

carried by *France*, it being a duchy so great and opulent, and so fitly situated to annoy England either for coast or trade. His hopes however were, that the French would be diverted from the enterprize, partly by the negligence commonly imputed to them, especially in the court of a young King, and partly by the native power of *Bretagne* itself, which was not small; but chiefly from the great party the Duke of *Orleans* had in the kingdom of *France*, and of course the means he had of stirring up civil troubles. He had some expectations too that the power of *Maximilian*, who was the French King's rival in this pursuit, would either interrupt the scheme or bring about a peace. But *Henry* was deceived, as it will hereafter appear. He immediately dispatched to *France*, *Christopher Urswick*, his chaplain, one whom he much trusted and employed, and fixing upon him because he was a churchman, as such most proper for an embassy of peace; giving him also a commission, that if the French King consented to treat, he should thence proceed to the Duke of *Bretagne* and converse with him upon the subject. *Urswick's* declaration to

the French King was much the same as Henry's answer to the French ambassadors, only that he urged the receiving the Duke of Orleans to favour, and some terms of agreement; but Charles, on the other side, used a great deal of art and dissimulation in this treaty, designing to gain time, and under a hope of peace to put off the English succours, till by force of arms he had got good footing in Bretagne. His reply, therefore, to Urswick, was, that he should put himself into Henry's hands, and make him arbiter. He willingly consented that the ambassador should go into Bretagne, and know the Duke's mind upon the subject; well foreseeing that the Duke of Orleans, by whom the Duke of Bretagne was wholly led, conceiving himself to be upon irreconcilable terms with him, would admit of no treaty of peace at all; by which mode of acting, he should not only veil over his ambition, gain the reputation of proceeding justly and moderately, but obtain the affections of the King of England, by committing all to his will; and should he enter Bretagne at last with his sword in hand, have it conceived that it was merely to oblige the Duke to terms.

terms of peace, keeping the treaty on foot till he should be even master of the field.

As the *French King* planned it, so it turned out; for when the *English ambassador* came to the Court of *Bretagne*, the Duke, who was scarcely perfect in his memory, left all to the Duke of *Orleans*, who gave audience to *Urfwick*, and on delivering his ambassage, made answer in terms rather high. He told him that the Duke of *Bretagne*, having been a kind of parent or foster-father to the King of *England* in his tenderness of age and weaknes of fortune, naturally looked to *Henry* the renowned King of *England*, for succour rather than a treaty of peace. And admitting that *Henry* could forget the good offices the Duke had already done him, yet, he was persuaded, he would in his wisdom consider of the future, how much it behoved his own safety and reputation, both abroad and at home, not to suffer *Bretagne*, the old confederates of *England*, to be swallowed up by *France*, and so many good ports and strong towns upon the coast fall under the command of so powerful a neighbour, and so old an enemy; and therefore humbly desired the

King

King of *England* to think of this business as his own.

Urfwick returned first to the *French* King, and related what had passed ; who, finding matters agree with his wishes, replied, that the ambassador might now perceive that which he, for his part, had conceived before; namely, that considering in what hands the Duke of *Bretagne* was, there would be no peace, but by a mixed treaty of force and persuasions, and therefore he would go with the one, and begged the King of *England* would not desist from the other. For his own part, he still faithfully promised, that *Henry* should rule him in the matter of peace. This was accordingly represented to *Henry* by *Urfwick* on his return, and in such a light as if the treaty was far from being desperate, but might be taken up again at a more favourable hour. Upon which packets and dispatches without number passed between *England* and *France*; the first anxious for the peace, the other dissembling upon the occasion. In the mean time, *France* invaded *Bretagne* with a powerful force, and laid siege to *Nantz*; and its King, like a true dissembler, the more he urged the prosecution

tion of the war, the more he pressed his solicitations for peace; insomuch, that during the siege, after many letters and messages, he sent *Bernard D'Aubigney*, a man of good rank, to *Henry*, earnestly to request him to finish the business, if possible.

Henry being no less ready to renew the treaty, sent three Commissioners for the purpose; namely, the Abbot of *Abingdon*, Sir *Richard Tunstal*, and his Chaplain *Urfwick*.

About this time Lord *Woodville*, the Queen's uncle, ambitious of signalizing himself, requested the King's leave privily, to raise a regiment of volunteers, in order to assist the Duke of *Bretagne*; but *Henry*, though it was not designed that he should appear to consent to it, thought proper to deny his request, or at least seemed so to do, and laid his commands upon him not to stir upon the occasion; least an attempt to serve one of the parties during the negotiation of a treaty, should be derogatory to the honour of a King. But notwithstanding this, Lord *Woodville*, whether from a spirit of opposition, or from an opinion that *Henry* would

would not dislike it, though unwilling openly to avow it, sailed secretly into the isle of Wight, where he was Governor, raised four hundred men, passed over into *Bretagne*, and joined the Duke's forces. When the news of this transaction reached the Court of *France*, it so enraged the people, that the *English* ambassadors were in danger of being torn to pieces; but the *French* King, both to preserve the privilege of ambassadors, and from a consciousness, that in the business of peace, he, of the two, was the greatest dissembler, forbade every species of injury against their persons or attendants, either in act or in word. Presently there came over an agent from *Henry*, to clear himself from having any concern or knowledge in Lord *Woodville*'s expedition, urging as the chief argument, of its being without his privity, that the number of troops were so small as not to carry the face of succour by authority, nor could much advance the interest of *Bretagne*. To which message the *French* King gave not much credit, yet pretended to be satisfied. The ambassadors having been likewise with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and found matters on no better footing

footing than before, returned to *England*; and Henry finding *France* not much disposed to peace, was obliged to have recourse to other expedients.

He took it for granted that the war in *Bretagne*, owing to the strength of the towns and the party engaged in it, would not speedily be terminated; for he conceived that the councils of a war undertaken by the *French* King, who had no children, against the heir-apparent of *France*, would be very faint and slow; besides, it was not possible but that the kingdom of *France* must be embroiled with some troubles in favour of the Duke of *Orleans*. He conceived likewise that *Maximilian* King of the Romans, who was a powerful and warlike Prince, would throw very sufficient succours into *Bretagne*. Judging, therefore, that this business would be a work of time, he laid his plot accordingly. He determined first to take advantage of the disposition of his Parliament to aid the Duke of *Bretagne*, and by seeming backward and lukewarm himself, let the act be theirs. He therefore kept up a continual treaty of peace, laying it down and taking it up again as occurrences required.

required. Besides, it was a point of honour with him apparently to endeavour to establish peace between the two contending powers ; he hoped likewise to strengthen himself with new alliances, which the envy of other states, at the war of *France* with *Bretagne*, gave him expectations of doing ; particularly with the King of *Spain*, who was of a similar disposition with himself, and also with *Maximilian*, who was particularly interested. So in fact, he promised himself both money, honour, and friends, and peace in the end. But the King was deceived here in two points ; for though he had reason to conceive that the *French* Councils would be cautious of urging their King to war with the heir-apparent, yet he did not consider that *Charles* was not guided by any of the principal nobility, but by men of low extraction, who would find it their interest to give such adventurous advice, as no great or wise man durst or would. And as to *Maximilian*, he was far from being so powerful as was supposed.

After consultation with the ambassadors, who brought *Henry* no other news than what he before expected, (though he would
not

not seem to know it till then,) he summoned his Parliament, and by his Chancellor *Morton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, addressed them to this effect :

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ OUR Sovereign Lord the King hath commanded me to lay before you the causes that have induced him to summon this Parliament.

“ His Grace doth first acquaint you, that he hath a thankful remembrance of the affection and loyalty you have shewn him at your last meeting in the establishment of his throne; as well freeing and discharging his friends, as punishing his enemies, more than he could have well expected. He takes this in such good part, that he has determined to advise with and consult you in all publick affairs, whether at home or abroad.

“ He hath called you together, therefore, for two reasons; matter of business abroad, and government at home.

“ You, no doubt, have heard, that the *French* King is at war with the Duke of *Bretagne*. His army is now before

Nantz, the principal city of that Duchy. Of course you may guess at his views, by attempting the strongest place first. In defence of this war, he alledges that the Duke of *Bretagne* has entertained and succoured the Duke of *Orleans*, and other of his enemies. Whether this be the true case or not, it is not for him to say. Both parties have at different times solicited his Grace's aid. The *French* have solicited his aid or neutrality; the the Duke of *Bretagne* his aid simply. His Grace, as a Christian prince, has offered himself as a mediator between them. The *French* King seems disposed to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the war; and as to the people of *Bretagne*, though they desire peace most, seem to hearken to it least; not through obstinacy or self-confidence, but, as the war continues, upon matters of distrust. So that his Grace, after much pains and care to bring about a peace, not being able to stay the prosecution of the war on the one hand, nor distrust, owing to that prosecution on the other, has dropped the

the negociaſion, despairing of its ſuc-
cess.

“For the better understanding of this matter, the King hath commanded me to ſay ſomething to you from him of the persons concerned in this buſineſs; and ſomething of the confeſſions likely to occur to this kingdom, making however no concluſions till he has firſt received your counſel and advice.

“First then for his Grace himſelf, who is the principal object you are to conſider. His Grace doth profefs it to be his true and conſtant wiſh to reign in peace; but he commands me to ſay, he will neither buy that peace with diſhonour, nor take it at great iſteſt of danger; but ſhall eſteem it a good change, ſhould God pleafe to convert the iñteſtine troublcs and ſeditiōns of this country into an honourable foreign war. With reſpect to the *French* King, and the Duke of *Bretagne*, his Grace is pleafed to ſay, that of all his friends and allies, they are men to whom he is moſt indebted; the one having protec̄ted him from the hand of a tyrant, the other having affiſted him in the recovery of his kingdom. So that by nature

his affection to both is equal. And, as you may have heard that he was obliged to fly from *Bretagne* to *France*, he begs it may be understood, that it was not through fear of being betrayed, nor has he the least reflection to throw on the Duke of *Bretagne* on that account.

“ But however these matters may interest his Grace in particular, he is thoroughly sensible that the safety and welfare of his loving subjects is a tye of a much higher nature, and do supersede even these his obligations of gratitude, otherwise then should he be compelled to take part in the war, he shall do it without either passion or ambition.

“ Next as to the consequences likely to occur to this kingdom. This depends upon the *French* King’s intentions; for if he has no other view than to bring his subjects to reason and submission, we have nothing to do with it; but, if it be his purpose, or if it be not his purpose, yet if it should follow, that *Bretagne* should become a province of *France*, then it is worthy consideration, how far it may affect *England*, as well in the additional power it may throw into the scale

scale of *France*, by an encrease of maritime strength, as in depriving this country of one of its best friends. For whereas this realm was not long since powerful upon the continent, both in territory and alliance, through the confederacy of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*; as the former is lost to us, being now dependant on *France* and *Austria*; should the other become subject to *France* also, this Island must remain confined by the sea, and be girt about by the coast countries of two mighty monarchs.

“ But whatever may be the *French* King’s intent, should *Bretagne* be carried and swallowed up by *France*, as the world conceives it will; it will be a dangerous precedent to other states, that the lesser should fall a prey to the greater. This may be the case of *Scotland* to *England*; of *Portugal* to *Spain*; of the smaller estates of *Italy* to the larger, and equally so of *Germany*; as if some of you, Gentlemen of the Commons, could not dwell safely in the neighbourhood of these great Lords. And this precedent will be chiefly laid to the King’s charge, as being most interested and most able to prevent it. But then, on the other side, there is so

fair a pretext on the *French* King's part (a pretext never wanting to power,) that the danger *France* is in from so potent a neighbour, makes this enterprize rather a work of necessity than ambition; that it almost reconciles us to the expedient, especially as the example of that which is done in a man's own defence, cannot be dangerous, because it is in the power of another to avoid it. But all this busines the King submits to your mature consideration, and on that he purposes to rely."

This was the substance of the Lord Chancellor's speech on the subject of *Bretagne*; for the King had commanded him so to mention it, as to urge his Parliament to enter into it, without making any express declaration himself.

The Chancellor went on :

" As to what concerns the government at home, his Grace hath commanded me to say, that for the small time he has reigned, he thinks there never was any King had greater or juster cause both to rejoice and lament than he hath had; to rejoice in the remarkable favours it hath pleased Almighty God

God to bestow upon him, by giving him a kingdom, and assisting him against his enemies, and also in blessing him with so many obedient and affectionate subjects and servants, who have never failed to give him faithful counsel, and stand up in his defence. But then he hath also reason to lament, that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to sheath his sword, (which he has ardently wished, except in the administration of justice,) but that he has been under a necessity of drawing it often against rebels and traitors, whose destruction however hath fallen on their own heads.

“ His Grace is sorry to observe, that it is not the blood spilt in the field, that will save blood in this city; nor is it the Marshal’s sword that will set this kingdom in perfect peace. To stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in the beginning, it is necessary to devise and enact some good and wholesome laws against riots, unlawful assemblies, and all combinations and confederacies of the people; to provide against which, his Grace recommends to the wisdom of his Parliament, and trusts they

will pay that regard to the subject as the nature of times do call for.

“ And it being his Grace’s desire, that this peace in which he hopes to govern and protect you, may not be fruitless, but productive of riches, wealth, and plenty, he begs you to take into consideration the trade and manufactures of this country, and that you will repress, as far as possible, all usurious and unlawful commerce; that his subjects may be usefully employed in arts and manufactures, that idleness may be discouraged, and as little expended for foreign merchandize as can be avoided; and that you will not rest here, but take care that whatever merchandize shall be imported into this country, shall be employed in our manufactures here, that the ballance of trade may never be against us.

“ And lastly, his Grace being well assured, that you would not have *him* poor who wishes *you* rich, has no doubt but that you will take proper steps to support and increase his revenue, and supply him with such aids as the necessity of the times may require; especially as you must be convinced, his Grace is frugal of the money entrusted

to him, and is but in effect a steward for the public. As kingdoms, therefore, grow more and more in greatness, according to the attention paid them, he trusts you will find it expedient to pursue measures proper to that end, and that you will not leave him with an empty purse. This is all, my Lords and Gentlemen, I have to say, and wish it had been in my power to have expressed it in better terms: where I have been deficient, your wisdom and good affections will supply. I pray God bless your undertakings."

There being a spirit of emulation between *France* and *England*, it was no very difficult matter to bring over the Parliament to this business; especially as the late growth of the *French* monarchy had created envy; and as it was dangerous to suffer the *French* to make any nearer approaches to *England*, by the acquisition of a province, so full of sea-ports as *Bretagne*, and of course so capable of annoying *England* by invasion or interruption of its commerce. The Parliament took it up also on the point of oppression; for though the *French* seemed to speak reasonably upon the matter, yet arguments with a multitude

multitude are ever too weak, where suspicion has gained ground. For this reason, they advised the King to take part with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and send him succour immediately, and granted his Majesty a subsidy for this purpose. But *Henry*, willing to preserve a decency towards the *French* King, to whom he professed himself obliged, and desirous indeed rather to shew an appearance of war than to make it, sent fresh ambassadors to make *Charles* acquainted with the determination of the Parliament, and to request again that he would desist from hostilities; or if war must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, in case, at the instance of his people, he should send the Duke of *Bretagne* succour, protesting nevertheless, that to save all treaties and laws of friendship, he should limit his forces merely to the aid of *Bretagne*, in no wise to shew themselves hostile to *France*, otherwise than whilst they kept possession of any part of *Bretagne*. But ere this formal embassage arrived, the Duke had received a great blow; for near the town of *St. Alban* in *Bretagne*, a battle had taken place, wherein the Duke's forces were overthrown, and

and the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* taken prisoners, with the loss of 6000 men killed, among whom were Lord *Woodville*, and almost all his soldiers. The *French* lost 1,200, with their leader *James Galeot*, a great commander.

When the news of this battle reached *England*, *Henry*, who had no further pretence for continuing his treaty, and now saw that *Bretagne* was likely to be lost, dispatched with all possible speed his succours into that province, which he did under the command of *Robert Lord Brook*, to the number of 8000 chosen and well-armed men. Having a fair wind they soon disembarked in *Bretagne*, joined themselves with those forces that remained after the defeat, marched straight towards the enemy, and encamped close by them. The *French* wisely making the most of their victory, and well acquainted with the spirit of the *English*, then fresh in the field, kept within their trenches, being strongly lodged, and determined not to offer battle: but, in the mean while, to harass and weary the *English*, they attacked them occasionally with their

their light-horse, and were generally worsted by the English archers.

During these skirmishes, *Francis*, Duke of *Bretagne*, died; an accident *Henry* might easily have foreseen, and ought to have provided against; but his reputation being at stake, when news first came of the battle lost, and knowing something must be done, he did not take much time to consider.

After the Duke's death, the principal persons in *Bretagne*, partly through error, and partly through a factious disposition, threw all into confusion; so that the English not finding with whom to join their forces, distrusting their friends, and fearing their enemies, as the winter was begun, returned home, having been in *Bretagne* five months. So that the battle of St. Alban, the death of the Duke, and the return of the English, were, after some time, the cause of the loss of that duchy; which was considered by some, as an error in *Henry*'s judgment; and by all, as the misfortune of his times.

But though this temporary assistance of the *English* parliament turned out ineffectual, they

they passed some good and wholesome laws which continue to this day.

The authority of the Star Chamber was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. * This was settled to establish the peace of the country. Henry's next care was to provide for the peace of his house, and the security of his great officers and counsellors. For this purpose it was enacted, that if any of the King's servants under the degree of a Lord, should conspire the death of any of the King's council, or Lords of the realm, it should be capital. This strange law was supposed to have been brought in by the Lord Chancellor, who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had some enemies at court, thus provided for his own safety ; concealing the particularity of it in a general law, by extending its privilege to all other counsellors and peers ; and yet not daring to make it more general, than to the King's servants ; least it should give offence to the Commons, who might think their ancient liberty invaded, if the will, in any

* This has been since abolished, of course Lord St. Alban's commendations of it are omitted.

case of felony, should be considered as the deed : and yet the reason which the act holds forth (namely, that he who conspireth the death of Counsellors, may be thought indirectly to conspire the death of the King himself) is not confined to the King's servants, but respects all subjects indifferently. It seemed, however, sufficient to answer the Lord Chancellor's purposes at that time ; though he lived to need a general law, becoming afterwards as odious to the country, as he was then to the court.

From the peace of the King's house, Henry's care extended to the peace of private houses and families ; for there was an excellent moral law passed, to make the taking and carrying away women forcibly and against their will (except female wards and bond women) capital : the parliament wisely and justly conceiving that obtaining the possession of women by force (however their assent might follow afterwards by allurements) was in fact a rape, because the first force drew in all the rest.

There was also another law for peace in general, and for the suppression of murder and manslaughter, and was an amendment
of

of the common law : it was this, that whereas by the common law the King's suit, in case of homicide, did expect the year and the day allowed to the party's suit, by way of appeal ; and that it was found by experience that the party was many times compounded with, and often wearied with the suit, so that in the end such suit was dropped, the matter in a manner forgotten, and thereby prosecution by indictment (which is ever best, *flagrante criminis*) neglected ; it was ordained, that the suit by indictment might be taken as well at any time within the year and the day, as after ; but without prejudice to the party's suit.

Henry began also, as well in wisdom as in justice, to abridge the privilege of clergy, ordaining that clerks convicted, should be burned in the hand, that they might not only feel corporal punishment, but carry about with them a brand of infamy. But on account of this good act, he was afterwards censured, by *Perkin's* proclamation, as an execrable breaker of the rites of holy church.

Another law was made for the peace of the country, by which the King's officers and

and farmers were to forfeit their places and holds, in case of unlawful retainer, or partaking in riots and unlawful assemblies.

These were the laws made for repressing of force, which the temper of the times required, and they were so prudently formed, as to be found fit for succeeding times.

This parliament also passed many good and politick laws against usury, improper discount, and exchange of money; also for the security of the customs, and for the employment of procedures of foreign merchandize, brought in by merchant-strangers upon the natural merchandize of this country; together with some laws of less importance.

But though the laws made in that parliament were salutary, yet the subsidy they granted, was not so. For when the commissioners entered into the taxation of the subsidy in *Yorkshire*, and the bishoprick of *Durham*, the people mutinied, and declared openly, that they had endured, of late years, a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the subsidy. This did not proceed from any present necessity, but from

the humour of those counties, where the memory of King *Richard* was so fresh, as to rankle in the people, when any thing occurred which they disliked. The commissioners referred this matter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the principal person in authority in that quarter. He immediately wrote up to court, representing to the King, the mutinous disposition of the people round him, and praying his directions. *Henry* wrote back peremptorily, that he would not have one penny of what the parliament had granted him abated, lest it should encourage and induce other counties to expect a like mitigation ; but chiefly, because he would never suffer the people to frustrate the authority of parliament, wherein their votes and consents were included. On receiving this letter the Earl assembled the principal justices and freeholders of the country, and addressing them in that imperious language in which the King had written to him, (which indeed was not necessary, as a harsh business had unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man) it not only irritated the people, but led them to conceive, by this haughty delivery

of the King's message, that the Earl was himself the author or principal persuader of the measure; so that the common people rose, assaulted the Earl in his house, and put him and many of his servants to death. The matter rested not here, for the people chusing Sir *John Egremond* for their leader, who was a factious man, and had long born the King no good will; and being animated also by a low fellow, one *John a-Chamber*, a very firebrand, who had great influence among the vulgar, rose in open rebellion, and gave out in direct terms that they would oppose the King, and contend with him for the maintenance of their liberties.

When the King was informed of this new insurrection (which like a fever humbled him annually) he made light of it according to custom; and sent *Thomas Earl of Surry*, whom he had lately not only released from the Tower and pardoned, but had also graciously received, with a sufficient force to suppress it. He came up with the chief band of rebels, gave them battle and defeated them. *John a Chamber*, their leader, was taken prisoner, and as for Sir *John Egremond*, he fled into *Flanders* to the Duchess of *Burgundy*,

Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the King. *John a Chamber* was executed at York in a kind of state, for he was hanged upon a gibbet, raised a stage higher in the midst of a square gallows, as a greater traitor than ordinary, whilst a number of his men that were his chief accomplices, were hanged upon the lower story round about him: the rest were pardoned. Nor did *Henry* himself omit his custom of being personally present, making good his word when he heard of a rebellion, that he desired but to see the rebels; and though in his journey towards them, he heard of their defeat, yet he went on as far as *York*, to pacify and quiet the country: that done, he returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surry* as his Lord lieutenant, and Sir *Richard Tunstal* as his principal commissioner, to levy the subsidy, which he collected to the last farthing.

About the same time that the King lost a good servant in the Earl of *Northumberland*, he lost also a faithful friend and ally in *James III. King of Scotland*. For this unfortunate Prince, after a long smothered discontent and hatred of many of his principal

nobility and people, breaking forth at times in tumults and seditions, was so far distressed by them, that having taken arms, they surprised the person of his son, partly by force, and partly by threats that they would otherwise deliver up the Kingdom to *Henry of England*. Upon which *James* (finding himself too weak to oppose them) applied to *Henry*, to the Pope, and to the King of *France*, for their interference. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediation in a princely manner; not only by way of request and persuasion, but also by way of menace and protestation; declaring, that in their opinion King *James's* cause was the common cause of all Kings, for if subjects were suffered to give laws to their sovereign, there would be an end of all government; of course, if they did not desist, they would resent it and revenge it. But the rebels, who had shaken off the greater yoke of obedience, had also cast away the lesser tye of respect, and rage prevailing above fear, they answered, that there was no talking of peace, except the King would resign his crown. No treaty, therefore, of accommodation taking place, it came to a battle at

Bannockburn

Bannockburn by *Strivelin*, in which King *James*, transported with wrath and just indignation, incautiously fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was, notwithstanding the express injunctions of his son to the contrary, slain in the pursuit, having fled to a mill situated in the field where the battle was fought.

The Pope's ambasssy was sent by *Adrian de Castello*, an Italian legate, but came too late for the purpose, though the ambassador was fortunate in the appointment. For passing through *England*, and being honourably entertained and received by King *Henry*, who ever treated the See of Rome with respect, he fell into favour with the King, and great friendship with *Morton*, the Chancellor; the consequence of which was, that he was made bishop of *Hereford*, and afterwards promoted to that of *Bath* and *Wells*. He was also employed in many affairs of state, that related to Rome. He was a man of great learning, wisdom and political knowledge, and having not long after acquired a Cardinal's hat, shewed his gratitude to *Henry*, by transmitting from

time to time all the news of *Italy*. He was however, afterwards concerned in the conspiracy with *Alfonso Petrucci* and other Cardinals against the life of Pope *Leo*. And this offence so heinous in itself, was in him still more so, as it did not proceed from malice or discontent, but an ambition to be Pope. And in this height of impiety, there wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly, for he was taught, as was generally believed, to expect the Papacy by the prediction of a Soothsayer, which was, that one should succeed Pope *Leo*, whose name should be *Adrian*, an aged man of mean birth, but of great learning and wisdom. By which description he conceived himself to be the person, though the prophecy was fulfilled by *Adrian the Fleming*, the son of a Dutch brewer, Cardinal of *Tortosa* and preceptor to Charles the Fifth: he not changing his Christian name, was afterwards called *Adrian the Sixth*.

These things happened in the year 1489; but in the end of the year before, *Henry* had called his parliament again, not on any particular business of state, but to pass a few more salutary laws: besides, finding by the insurrection

insurrection in the North, that the late subsidy had created discontent among the people, he was in hopes of conciliating their affection by some popular acts. His reign was certainly remarkable for good commonwealth laws, not enacted for the present occasion, but with an eye to the future, after the manner of legislators in ancient heroic times, who laboured to add to the happiness of the people.

First, therefore, he made a law to settle his subjects in the peaceable enjoyment of their private possessions; ordaining, that fines henceforth, should be final, concluding all strangers rights; and that upon fines levied and solemnly proclaimed, the subject should have his time of watch for five years after his title accrued, which if he once past, his right should be bound for ever after, with some exceptions of minors, married women, and incompetent persons.

This statute did in effect but restore an antient statute of the realm, which was itself only made to corroborate the common law. The alteration had been by a statute commonly called the statute of *Nonclaim*, made in the time of *Edward the Third*.

And surely this law was a kind of prognostic of that good peace, which since his time, has, in general, continued to this day.

Another statute of singular policy was made at this time for the encrease of population, and indeed for the soldiery and military forces of the realm.

Enclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby arable land, which could not be cultivated without people and families, was turned into pasture; this was easily farmed by a few herdsmen, and tenancies for lives, years, and at will, (whereon much of the Yeomanry lived) were turned into demesnes. This lessened population, and of course occasioned a decay of Towns, Churches, tithes, and the like. The King likewise knew and remembered, that in consequence of this decay, there was a diminution of subsidies and taxes; for the greater the number of gentlemen in a district, the less the sum of money that district can raise. To remedy this inconvenience, the King's wisdom was admirable, and the parliament's also, at that time. Enclosures they would not forbid, for that would be checking the improvement of land; nor would they

they compel tillage, for that would have been to enter into a contest with nature, and utility; but they took a method to check these enclosures of pasture, not by any imperious prohibition, but by consequences. The ordinance was, that all farm houses to which twenty acres of ground and upwards were annexed, should be kept up for ever, together with a complete proportion of land to be used and occupied with them, on pain of seizure of the land itself, by the King and lords of the fee, who should hold half the profits, till the houses and land were restored. By this means such houses, being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller, or inhabitant; and the proportion of land annexed for occupation, being kept up also, made it necessary that such inhabitant should be above the degree of a beggar or cotager, and be a man of some substance, able to keep servants, and set the plough a-going. This was found of great benefit to the country, as it supplied the state with a body of people above penury, and increased the Yeomanry of the kingdom; of course, on the true principles of war, it advanced the military power of the state. For it hath been held

by

by the general opinion of men of sound judgment in war, that the principal strength of an army consists in the infantry, and to make good infantry, it requires men bred not in a servile state, but in some degree of affluence. If therefore, a country should be inhabited chiefly by nobility and gentry, and the husbandmen and ploughmen be merely their labourers, or else mere cottagers, it may supply the state with good cavalry, but very indifferent infantry. This is to be remarked in *France* and *Italy*, where in effect, the people are divided into noblesse and peasantry; so that they are obliged to employ mercenary troops for their battalions of foot. Hence it happens that in those countries, the people are very numerous, but the soldiery few. Thus did the King sow *Hydra's* teeth, from which according to the fiction of the Poet, an army might rise for the service of the kingdom.

Next for the advantage of the Navy, it was ordained, that wines and brandy, from *Gascony* and *Languedoc*, should not be imported here, but in English bottoms; ancient laws having hitherto encouraged the importation

importation of all sorts of merchandize, with a view of lowering their prices, though at the same time it was injurious to the naval power.

A statute was also made in that parliament, enjoining justices of peace to a due execution of their office, inviting complaints against them, and ordering a proclamation composed for the purpose, to be read in open sessions four times a year, to keep them vigilant; *Henry's* view towards the latter end of his reign, being as much to fill his treasury by fines and forfeitures, as to have his laws properly enforced: on this account his study was to remedy a practice grown into use, of checking and stopping informations upon penal laws, by procuring informations by collusion, put in by the confederates of delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted and dropped at pleasure, and pleading them in bar of those informations which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also laws for the correction of the mint, and to prevent the counterfeiting of such foreign coin as was here current; and to keep the money within the kingdom

dom, it was ordered that no payment should be made to merchant-strangers in gold.

He also passed statutes for the encouragement of the woollen manufactory, and preventing the exportation of wool, and also stinting and limiting the prices of cloth. I take notice of this in particular, it having been very unusual to fix prices by statute on our home commodities, and it being a wise step to stint the prices, rather than fix certain regular ones, as clothiers in this case, could manufacture their cloth accordingly.

Various other statutes were made by this Parliament, but these were the principal. It may be thought rather strange that I should dwell so long upon the laws passed in this reign, but when it is considered, that in this the King's chief merit lay, it is but justice that I should tell the world of it. It is, in my opinion, a defect in our best historians, that they have not summarily delivered down to posterity, the most memorable laws that took place in the times of which they write, being indeed the principal acts of peace. For though they can be read in our law-books, yet they serve not there to inform the judgment of Kings and ministers;

ministers, so well, as if entered in the history and portrait of the times.

About the same time the King borrowed four thousand pounds of the city of London ; a sum double what they lent before ; both these sums were regularly repaid on the day appointed ; *Henry* ever choosing rather to borrow before he wanted it, than not preserve his credit by a punctual repayment.

Neither had the King cast off his cares and hopes respecting *Bretagne*, but, though his arms had been unfortunate, he wished by some political step to deprive the French King of the fruits of his victory. For this purpose, he encouraged *Maximilian* to press his suit with *Anne* the heiress of *Bretagne*, and endeavoured to urge him to the marriage ; but *Maximilian*'s affairs were at that time in great confusion, owing to a rebellion of his subjects in Flanders ; especially those of *Bruges* and *Ghent* ; the town of *Bruges* having during the time that *Maximilian* was there, suddenly risen in arms, slain some of his principal officers, and taken him prisoner, keeping him confined till they had obliged him and some of his counsellors to take a solemn

solemn oath to pardon all their offences, and never question nor revenge the same at any future time. *Frederick*, however, the Emperor, would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his son, to pass unnoticed, but commenced a war with *Flanders*, in order to reclaim and chastise the rebels. *Lord Ravenstein*, a principal person about *Maximilian*, and who had taken the oath of abolition with his master, under a pretext of conscience, though ambition was his motive, instigated as supposed, and corrupted by *France*, deserted the Emperor and *Maximilian* his Lord, became the head of the popular party, and seized upon the towns of *Ypres* and *Sluys* sending for aid to *Lord Cordes*, governor of *Picardy*, under the French King, and urging him in behalf of France, to become protector of the united towns, and by force of arms reduce the rest. *Cordes* ready to embrace the opportunity, which was partly of his own contriving, dispatched a much more powerful force, than he could so suddenly have raised, had he not waited for such summons in aid of *Ravenstein* and *Flanders*, with orders to invest the towns between *France* and *Bruges*.

These

These forces besieged a small town called *Dixmude*, where part of the Flemish forces joined them. During this siege, *Henry* on a pretence of safety to the English territory about *Calais*, but in fact, through an unwillingness that *Maximilian* should suffer in the public opinion, and be therefore refused a marriage with *Anne* by the statute of *Bretagne*, sent over Lord *Morley*, with a thousand men to Lord *D'Aubigny*, deputy of *Calais*, with private instructions to assist *Maximilian*, and raise the siege of *Dixmude*. *D'Aubigny* under a pretext of strengthening the English lines, drew out of the garrison of *Calais*, *Hammes* and *Guines*, a thousand men more, so that with the succours under Lord *Morley*, the number was better than two thousand. Which forces joining with some companies of Germans, threw themselves into *Dixmude* unperceived by the enemy, and passing through the town, gathered strength from some additional troops there lodged, and attacked the enemy's camp, which, from an opinion of too great security was negligently guarded. A bloody fight took place, in which the English obtained a victory, and, with the loss of about one hundred

men, among whom was Lord *Morley*, slew eight thousand of the enemy. They took also their great cannon, with a variety of rich spoils, and carried them to *Nieuport*. This done, Lord *D'Aubigny* returned to *Calais*, leaving his wounded men, and a few volunteers at *Nieuport*. But Lord *Cordes*, then at *Ypres*, with a great number of men, hoping to recover the loss and disgrace of the defeat before *Dixmude*, marched to *Nieuport*, and sat down before it ; and after some days siege, determined to try the fortune of an assault. He succeeded so well, as to take the chief tower and fort in that city, whereon he fixed the French banner ; but by the fortunate arrival of some fresh succours of Archers in the haven of *Nieuport*, they were soon driven out again by the English. Lord *Cordes* discouraged at this, and conceiving these new succours by their success, to be great, which in fact were but small, raised the siege, and retired. Owing to these things, the two Kings of *England* and *France*, were much exasperated at each other, a great deal of blood having been shed on both sides, and the idle words of Lord *Cordes* added to the animosity ; for
it

it was a common saying with him, that so he could take *Calais* from the English, he would be contented to lie in Hell for seven years.

Henry having thus upheld the reputation of *Maximilian*, advised him now to bring his marriage with *Bretagne* to a conclusion; this *Maximilian* accordingly did, and so far prevailed, both with the young lady and the principal persons about her, that the marriage was consummated by proxy, with a ceremony in those parts, at that time new; for she was not only publickly contracted, but solemnly bedded. When she was in bed, an ambassador from *Maximilian*, in the presence of sundry personages, both men and women, put his leg, (stripped naked to the knee) within the bridal sheets, that the ceremony might be thought to amount to a consummation and actual knowledge. *Maximilian* upon this, who was too much accustomed to leave things when almost brought to perfection, and end them in imagination, and who might as well have bedded with her himself, as to have carried on this farce, conceiving every thing safe, neglected any farther proceedings, and pursued

the business of the war. In the mean time the French King, consulting with his clergy, and finding that this pretended consummation was rather an invention of the court, than any way valid by the laws of the church, went more effectually to work, and by secret emissaries and agents, got round the young lady by her female friends, and endeavoured to persuade her, that her honour was no way concerned in this marriage, and that she was not bound to fulfil it by any tie of religion. This was a very difficult task, as *Maximilian* himself was not only contracted to this lady, but the daughter of *Maximilian* was likewise contracted to King *Charles*. As for the contract with *Charles*, the exceptions lay clear and open; *Maximilian's* daughter being under years of consent, and not so bound by law, but a power of retracting was left to either party. But for the contract entered into by *Maximilian* with the lady herself, they could scarcely get over, having nothing to alledge, but that it was done without the consent of her sovereign Lord, King *Charles*, whose ward she was, and, he standing in the light of her father, of course was void and null. This defect

defect, they said, though it would not evacuate a marriage after cohabitation and actual consummation, yet it was sufficient to destroy the contract. With regard to the pretended consummation, they made jest of it; said it was a sign that *Maximilian* was a widower and a cold wooer, when he could be satisfied to be a bridegroom by deputy, and would not put himself to the trouble of a small journey, to remove all difficulties. The young lady, wrought upon by these arguments, finely instilled by such persons as *Charles* had brought over to his interest, and allured also by the present glory and greatness of the King of France, (who was a young man and a bachelor) and loth to make her country the seat of a long and miserable war, secretly agreed to accept his hand: during, however, this secret treaty with the Lady, to secure it from opposition and interruption, King *Charles* had recourse to his accustomed art, and hoping to carry his marriage as he had carried the war, by amusing the King of *England*; sent an ambassage to Henry to treat of peace and a league with him. The ambassadors were *Francis*, Lord *Luxemburgh*, *Charles Marignian*

and *Robert Gagoren*, general of the order of the *Bonnes-hommes* of the trinity. This negotiation for peace was coupled with an article in the nature of a request, that the French King might with *Henry's* good-will, (according to his right of seigniory and guardianship) dispose, as he should think proper, of the young Duchess of *Bretagne* in marriage, proposing, by a judicial proceeding, to make void her marriage with *Maximilian* by proxy. All this while however, the better to amuse the world, he continued *Maximilian's* daughter in his court and custody, she having formerly been sent to him, to be bred and educated in *France*; professing and giving out, that he meant to proceed with that match, desiring only, with respect to the Duchess of *Bretagne*, to preserve his right of seigniory, and to give her in marriage to some such ally as might depend upon him.

When the three commissioners reached the court of *England*, they delivered their embassage to the King, who referred them to his council; where some days after they had audience, and made their proposition through

through the Prior of the Trinity, as the best speaker, to this effect.

“ My Lords,

“ THE King our master, the greatest and mightiest King that ever reigned in *France*, since *Charles the Great* (whose name he bears), thinks it no disparagement to his greatness this time to propound a peace, nay to pray a peace with the King of *England*. For this purpose he hath sent us his commissioners instructed and enabled with full and ample power, to treat and conclude, giving us farther in charge to lay open his intentions, with respect to some other business. I do assure your Lordships, it is not possible for you to conceive the true and cordial affection which the King our master, beareth to your sovereign, unless you were near him as we are. He speaks of him always with the utmost respect; he remembers their first acquaintance at *Paris*, with great pleasure, and never mentions the King of *England's* name, but he regrets the unhappiness of crowned heads, in not being able to converse occasionally with each other. This affection to your King's person

and virtues, God hath no doubt put into the heart of our master for the good of Christendom, and for purposes yet unknown to us. This is evident, inasmuch as he loved him equally when Earl of Richmond, as now King of England. Hence it is, that he covets peace and league with your sovereign: but 'tis not his affection only that leads him to this, it is armed also with reasons of state. For having an honourable and holy purpose to make a voyage and war in remote parts, he considers that it will be of no small addition to the reputation of his enterprize, when it is known abroad that he is in good peace with all the neighbouring princes, especially the King of England, whom he most esteems: and he hopes this candour and openness will have its proper weight with him."

" Give me leave, my Lords, here to say a few words, in order to remove any misunderstanding between your sovereign and ours, respecting some late actions; which if not cleared, may interrupt the peace he wishes, and leave suspicions of unkindness on either side. The actions I allude to, are those of Bretagne and of Flanders."

" With

"With regard to *Bretagne*, the King, your sovereign, knoweth best what hath passed. On our masters' part, it was a war of necessity, and though the motives of it were provoking to the utmost, yet he made that war with an olive-branch in his hand, peace being his greatest object. Nay, he, from time to time, requested your King to name the conditions on which that peace should be founded. For though both his honour and his safety hung upon those conditions, he did not think them too valuable to entrust them in the King of *England's* hands. Nor did our master, on the other hand, make any unfriendly interpretation of your King's sending succours to the Duke of *Bretagne*, knowing well that kings are obliged to do many things to gratify their people. The affair of *Bretagne*, however, is now (by the act of God) ended and over, and our master hopes it has passed like the way of a ship in the sea, leaving no more impression on the King of *England's* mind, than it hath done on *his*."

"As for the affair of *Flanders*, it was a war of justice, which a good king could not dispense with. The subjects of *Bur-*

gundy are subjects in chief to the crown of France, and the duke is the homager and vassal of France. They used to be good subjects, however Maximilian may have altered them. They fled to our King for justice and deliverance from oppression. Justice he could not deny; purchase he did not seek. It may be unnecessary, my Lords, to dwell on this, otherwise than to declare the tenderness of our master in any thing that may glance on the friendship of England. The amity between the two kings (no doubt) stands entire and inviolate, and though their subjects' swords have clashed, it affects not the public peace of the two crowns, it being a thing not unusual in auxilliary forces of the best allies to meet and draw blood in the field. Nay many times, there are succours of the same nations on both sides, and yet that kingdom is not on such account divided against itself."

"It remains, my Lords, that I impart unto you a matter, which I know your Lordship's will rejoice to hear, as a circumstance of more importance to the christian commonwealth, than any thing that has happened of long time. The King, our master, is determined

termined to make war with the kingdom of *Naples*; being now in the possession of a bastard slip of *Arragon*, belonging to his majesty by clear and undoubted right, which if he did not by just arms seek to recover, he could neither acquit his honour nor answer it to his people. But his noble and christian thoughts rest not here; his resolution and hope is, to make the re-conquest of *Naples*, but as a bridge to transport his forces into *Greece*; and not to spare either blood or expence, till either he hath overthrown the empire of the *Ottomans*, or taken it in his way to paradise. Our master knoweth well, that this is a design that could not arise in the mind of any king, if he did not stedfastly look up unto God whose quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the will and the deed. He is led on to this by the example of *Henry the Fourth of England*, (the first renowned King of the house of *Lancaster*; ancestor though not progenitor to your King) who designed towards the end of his reign, as you better know, to make an expedition into the *Holy-land*, by the present example of that honourable and religious war, now carried on by the King of

Spain,

Spain, for the recovery of *Grenada* from the Moors. And although this enterprize may seem vast and unmeasured for our King to attempt by his own forces, which was once thought sufficient for a conjunction of most of the christian princes; yet his majesty wisely considers, that sometimes smaller forces united under one command have done greater things, than much larger bodies associated and leagued, which, in a short time after their beginnings, have divided and dispersed. But, my Lords, the voice as it were from heaven that calleth our master to this enterprize, is a rent at this time in the house of the Ottomans. I do not say, but that there hath been brother against brother in that house before, but never any that had refuge to christian arms, as now hath *Gemes*, brother to *Bajazet*, the *Sultan*, the far braver man of the two, the other being between a monk and a philosopher, and better read in the *Alcoran* and *Averroes*, than calculated to wield the sceptre of so warlike an empire. This therefore is the King our master's heroic determination for a holy war. And that he may carry in this busines, the person of a christian soldier, as well as of a great

great temporal monarch ; he sets out humbly, content, for this cause, to beg peace at the hands of other christian Kings. To this end it is rather a civil request he makes to your King, than any essential part of our negociation ; that as all the world knoweth he is lord in chief of the duchy of *Bretagne*, and that as the marriage of the heir, belongeth to him as guardian, he may have your King's consent to dispose of her in marriage, as he thinks proper ; and make void the intruded and pretended marriage of *Maximilian*. This, my Lords, is all I have to say, desiring your pardon for my insufficiency in the delivery."

Thus did the *French Ambassadors*, with great shew of their King's affection, and many studied expressions of amity, endeavour to keep *Henry* quiet, till the marriage of *Bretagne* was past, and prevent him giving the French King any disturbance, in his voyage to *Italy*. The lords of the council were silent, and replied only, " that they presumed the ambassadors would expect no answer, till they had reported what they had heard, to the King." *Henry* could not well tell what to think of the marriage of *Bretagne*.

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He saw plainly the ambition of the *French* King was, to get possession of the duchy; but he wondered he would bring into his house a litigious marriage, especially, considering who was to be his successor. Weighing, however, one thing with another, he gave up *Bretagne* for lost: but resolved to make it a quarrel for a war: and the affair of *Naples*, as a means for peace, being well acquainted how strongly the King was bent upon that action. Having therefore advised with his council, he gave his chancellor directions to answer the ambassadors at the council-board, bid him speak a language fit for a treaty, ending in a breach, with an especial caution not to use any words to discourage the voyage to Italy. Soon after, the ambassadors were sent for, and the Lord Chancellor addressed himself in council, as follows:

“ My Lords ambaffadors,

“ I am, by the King’s command, to answer the eloquent declaration of you my Lord Prior, in a brief and plain manner. The King forgets not his former love and acquaintance with the King your master; of this

this, there needs no repetition. If it be between them as it was, it is well ; if not, it is not words that will make it up."

" As to the affair of *Bretagne*, the King thinketh it rather strange, that it should be considered as a matter deserving his favour, when it made him the instrument of surprising one of his best allies ; and as to the marriage, he is disposed to interfere, if your master would marry by the book, and not by the sword."

" With respect to the business of *Flanders*, had the subjects of *Burgundy* appealed to your king as their chief lord, at first, by way of supplication, it might have had a shew of justice, but it was a new form of process, for subjects to imprison their prince first, and slay his officers, and then to be complainants. The king saith, that sure he is, when he and the *French* king sent to the subjects of *Scotland*, (that had taken arms against their king) they both spoke in another style, and did in a princely manner, signify their detestation of popular encroachments on the persons or authority of princes. But, my lords ambassadors, the king's reply on these two matters is, that, on the one side,

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He hath not received any kind of satisfaction from you, concerning them; and on the other, that he does not see any reason to refuse to treat of peace, if other things go hand in hand. As for the war of *Naples*, and the design against the *Turks*, the king hath commanded me expressly to say, that he wishes the *French* King well with all his heart, and that he may succeed according to his hopes and honourable intentions; and whenever he shall hear that he is prepared for *Greece*, as your master is pleased now to say, that he beggeth a peace of him, so will he then beg of your master a part in that war."

" But now, my lords ambassadors, I am to speak to you on the king's part: the king, your master, hath taught our king what to say and demand. You say, my lord Prior, that your king is resolved to recover his right to *Naples*, wrongfully detained from him; and that, was he not to do it, he could not acquit his honour, nor answer it to his people. Conceive now, my lords, that the king our master saith the same thing over again to you, touching *Normandy*, *Guienne*, *Anjou*; nay the kingdom of *France* itself. I cannot express it better than in your own words,

words. If therefore, the *French* king shall consent that the king our master's title to *France*, (at least tribute for the same,) be a part of the treaty, the king is content to go on with the rest; otherwise he refuses to treat."

The ambassadors, disconcerted at this demand, replied with some heat, "that they doubted not but their sovereign's sword would be able to support his sceptre, and they were assured he neither could, nor would yield to any diminution of the crown of *France*, either in territory, or regality; though such matters were too great for them to speak of; having no commission for so doing." They were told that the king expected no answer from them, but would forthwith, send his own ambassadors to the *French* king. A question however was asked them, whether the *French* king would agree to have the disposal of the marriage of *Bretagne*, with an exception and exclusion that he should not marry her himself? To which the ambassadors answered, that it was so far out of their king's thoughts, that they had received no instructions respecting the same. Thus were all the ambassadors dismissed, except

cept the Prior; and were followed immediately by *Thomas Earl of Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenston*, Prior of *Christ Church, Canterbury*, who were presently sent over into *France*. In the mean time, *Lionel*, bishop of *Concordia*, was sent as *Nuncio*, from Pope *Alexander* the sixth to both Kings, to negotiate a peace between them; for Pope *Alexander* finding himself so pent and locked up by a league, and association of the principal states of *Italy*, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own house, (which he immoderately thirsted after) was anxious to trouble the waters of *Italy*, that he might fish the better, casting the net, not out of St. *Peter's*; but out of *Borgia's* bark. And doubting lest the *French* king's fears of *England* should interrupt and delay his voyage into *Italy*, dispatched this bishop to reconcile, if possible, the differences between the two kings. For this purpose he first repaired to the *French* King, and finding him well inclined, (as he conceived) pursued his journey to *England*, and found the *English* ambassadors at *Calais*, on their way towards the *French* King. After some conference with them, he was conveyed into *England* in an honourable manner, where he had audience of *Henry*. Though this bishop
of

of *Concordia*, by name, was well adapted to bring about a peace; nothing of the kind followed, for in the mean time the French King's design to marry the duchess could not longer be dissembled. On this account, the English ambassadors, finding how things went, took their leave, and returned. And the Prior also was warned from hence, to quit *England* as soon as possible; but turning his back, more like a pedant than an ambassador, he circulated a bitter libel against the King, in Latin verse, which the King took no other notice of, than causing an answer to be made in the same language, but in a stile of scorn and derision.

About this time was born the King's second son, Henry, who afterwards reigned. And soon after followed the solemnization of the marriage between *Charles* and *Anne*, duchess of *Bretagne*, with whom he received the dutchy of *Bretagne*, as her dowry; the daughter of *Maximilian*, being sent home a little before. This so irritated her father, who would never believe it till it was done, that he loudly exclaimed against *Charles*, called him the most perfidious man on earth, said his marriage was compounded of adul-

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tery and rape, and took place by the judgment of God; that the race of so unworthy a person might not reign in *France*, but be opposed by all the world. He sent ambassadors therefore to the kings of *England* and *Spain*, to incite them to war, and enter into a league offensive against *France*, promising to assist them with great forces of his own. Henry, now in the seventh year of his reign, called a parliament, and on the day of its opening, addressed them from the throne, in this manner.

“ *My Lords, and you, the Commons,*

“ When I purposed to make war in *Bretagne*, by my lieutenant, I acquainted you with it by my chancellor; but now that I mean to make war with *France* in person, I declare it to you myself. That war was to defend another man’s right, but this is to recover our own. That ended by accident, this I hope will end in victory.”

“ The *French* king troubles the christian world; that which he hath is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath obtained possession of *Bretagne*; he supports the rebels in *Flanders*, and he threatens *Italy*. With me

me he hath proceeded from dissimulation to neglect ; and from neglect to contumely. He hath assailed our confederates ; he denies us tribute ; in a word, he seeks war ; so did not his father, but sought peace at our hands, and so perhaps will he, when good counsel or time shall make him see as much as his father saw."

" In the mean time, let us take advantage of his ambition, and let us not stand upon a few crowns of tribute or acknowledgement ; but by the favour of God, try our right for the crown of *France* itself ; remembering that we have had a *French* King prisoner in *England* ; and a king of *England*, crowned in *France*. Our allies are not diminished ; *Burgundy* is in a more powerful hand than ever, and never was more provoked. *Bretagne* cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New acquisitions are more burthen than strength. The male-contents of his own kingdom have not been base, popular, nor titulary impostors but of a higher nature. The King of *Spain*, not knowing where the *French* King's ambition will stop, will certainly join us. Our Holy Father, the Pope, likes no Tramontanes in *Italy*.

But, however it be, the circumstance of allies, is rather to be thought of, than reckoned on; for God forbid, that *England* should need any second to bring *France* to reason."

"At the battles of *Cressy*, *Poictiers*, and *A-gincourt*, we stood alone. *France* is populous, but hath but few soldiers. They have no good infantry: some good horse they have, but those are least fit for a defensive war, where the actions are in the choice of the assailants. It was our discord only that lost us *France*; and by the power of God, it is the good peace which we now enjoy, that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my sword. During the time I have reigned, I have weeded out my bad subjects, and tried my good. My people and I know each other, and this breeds confidence. And should there be any bad blood left in the kingdom, an honourable foreign war would either vent it, or purify it. In this great business, let me have your advice and aid. If any of you were to make your son a Knight, you might have aid of your tenants by law. This concerns the knighthood of which I am father, and bound, not only to maintain it, but advance it. But for the ex-

pence

pence of the war, let it not be taken from the poorer sort ; but from those to whom the benefit of the war may redound. *France* is no wilderness, and I; that profess good husbandry, hope to make the war soon pay itself. Go together in God's name, and lose no time ; for I have called this parliament for this purpose solely.”

Thus spake the King. But notwithstanding this, though he shewed great eagerness for war, not only to his parliament and court, but to his privy council likewise ; yet in his secret intentions he held no hostile views against *France*, but trafficked with that war, to make his return in money. He knew well that *France* was now entire and at unity with itself ; and had not for many years been so powerful as at present. He discovered by the experience of his expeditions into *Bretagne*, that the *French* knew well how to make war with the *English*, not by hazarding a battle, but by wearing them out by long sieges. *James* the Third of *Scotland*, (his true friend and ally gone), and *James* the Fourth his successor, wholly at the devotion of *France*, and ill-affected towards him. On the conjunctions of *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, and

Maximilian, he could place little confidence; for the one had power, and not will; and the other had will and not power. Besides, *Ferdinand* had but newly taken breath from his war with the *Moors*, and was then in treaty with France, for its restoring the counties of *Roussillon*, and *Perpignan*. He had his fears also of the male-contents, and such as were not attached to him within his realm, whom he dreaded, lest they should take advantage of his absence, and stir up sedition at home, whilst he was abroad. These difficulties led him to consider two things, how by a declaration of war to turn that war to his profit; and how to avoid the prosecution of it, without injuring his honour.—With respect to gain, he conceived he might profit, by first raising money on his people to carry on the war, and then receiving money from his enemies, to bring about a peace; like a good merchant, who not only profits by the exportation of commodities, but by importing them again. As to the point of honour, in relinquishing the war, he considered well, that as he could not rely on the assistance of either *Ferdinand* or *Maximilian*, it would open the way to his acceptance

ance of peace. These things he wisely fore-saw, and very artfully conducted, so that all things turned out as he wished.

The Parliament, however, took fire, thirsting for a *French* war, and eager to repair the dishonour they thought the King sustained by the loss of *Bretagne*. They advised therefore, a war with *France*; and, consented, agreeable to the King's inclination, that commissioners should be sent to levy a benevolence from that class of people which was able to afford it. This tax, called a *benevolence*, was devised by *Edward* the Fourth, contrary to the approbation of his people, and abolished by *Richard* the Third, in order to ingratiate himself with his subjects; and it was now revived by *Henry* the Seventh, but with the consent of the Parliament. By this means he raised very large sums. The City of *London* contributed upwards of nine thousand pounds, (a great sum in those days).

This Parliament was merely a parliament of war, for it did nothing else than declare war against *France* and *Scotland*, and enact some statutes conducing thereto; such as the severe punishing of mort-pays, and captains for with holding the pay of the soldi-

ers, enjoining punishment for desertion, strengthening the common law in favour of protections, and setting the gate open and wide for men to sell or mortgage their lands, without fines for alienation, to furnish themselves with money for the war, and lastly, for expelling all the *Scotch* out of *England*. There was also a statute passed for dispersing the standard of the Exchequer throughout *England*, determining thereby, weights and measures, and two or three more of less importance.

After the Parliament broke up, which was in a very short time, the King went on with his preparations for the war, yet neglected not, at the same time, *Maximilian's* affairs in *Flanders*; but endeavoured to quiet the people there, and restore him to his former authority. For at that time, Lord *Ravenstein*, a rebellious servant of *Maximilian*, had, by the assistance of *Bruges*, and *Ghent*, as we said before, taken the town and both the castles of *Sluys*.

And having collected certain ships, and barks, through the commodiousness of that port, he pursued a kind of piratical trade, robbing and plundering the ships and vessels
of

of all nations that passed along that coast, and towards *Antwerp*, or into any part of *Brabant*, *Zealand*, and *Friesland*, and taking their crews prisoners. Besides what he could get from *Sluys* and the country adjacent, and the product of his own prizes, he was always well victualled from *Picardy*, for the *French* still under hand assisted him.

There was a small town about two miles from *Bruges*, towards the sea, called *Dam*; a kind of fort and approach to *Bruges*, and had a connexion also with *Sluys*. This town *Maximilian* had often attempted to take, but in vain, not for any worth in the town, but with a view of choking *Bruges*, and cutting it off from the sea. The Duke of *Saxony* now came down into *Flanders* to compromise matters between *Maximilian* and his subjects; being the fast friend of the former. On this pretext of neutrality and treaty, he repaired to *Bruges*, requesting the states of that city, to enter peaceably into their town, with such an armed retinue as became his rank, in a country that was up in arms, informing them, that he had matters of great importance, and such as it was their interest to attend to, to communicate. Leave having

ing been thus obtained, he sent his carriages, and harbingers before him, to prepare lodgings for his reception ; so that his soldiers entered the city unmolested, but, in a peaceable manner, and he followed. Those who went before still enquired for inns and lodgings, as if they were to rest there all the night : thus went they on, till they came to the gate which leads towards *Dam*; the people of *Bruges* gazing only on, and giving them passage. The captains and inhabitants of *Dam*, suspecting no harm from any number of men passing through *Bruges*, and supposing the forces they saw at a distance, to be succours sent from their friends, suffered them to enter their town unmolested. By this dissimulation the town of *Dam* was taken, and the city of *Bruges* blocked up.

The Duke of *Saxony*, thus in possession of *Dam*, sent immediately to *Henry*, to acquaint him, that it was *Sluys* chiefly, and Lord *Ravenstein* that kept the rebellion of *Flanders* alive, and that if he thought proper to besiege it by sea, he would also set down before it by land, and he had no doubt but that it would easily be carried.

Henry

Henry, willing to support the authority of Maximilian, (in order to keep France more in awe), and being likewise applied to by his merchants for protection, against the piracies of Lord *Ravenstein*; sent Sir *Edward Poynings* immediately, with twelve ships well equipped with soldiers and artillery, to clear the seas, and lay siege to *Sluys*. The *English* did not only, on this occasion, block up Lord *Ravenstein*, so that he could not stir, but nobly besieged that part of the town lying on the sea, and, also, attacked one of the castles; renewing the assault for twenty days together, disembarking at ebb; insomuch that great slaughter took place at the castle, the garrison doing all they could to repulse them. On the part of the *English* was slain the Earl of *Oxford's* brother, and about fifty others.

The siege, however, still continuing with more and more spirit, and both castles (which were the principal strength of the town) being distressed, the one by the Duke of *Saxony*; and the other by the *English*; and a bridge of boats, which Lord *Ravenstein* had made between both castles, for the convenience of conveying succour from one to the other, being set fire to, by the *English*, in the night; he

he, despairing to hold the town, yielded the castles at last to the *English*, and the town to the Duke of *Saxony*, by composition. This done, the Duke, and Sir *Edward Poynings*, treated with the people of *Bruges*, for their submission to *Maximilian*, their lord; which after some time they did, paying the charge of the war; in consequence of which, all foreign succours were dismissed. Other revolted towns soon followed the example of *Bruges*, and all things became quiet. Sir *Edward Poynings*, after he had continued at *Sluys* some time, till every thing was settled, returned to *Henry*, who was then before *Bullogne*.

About this time, letters were received from *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, announcing the final conquest of *Grenada*, from the *Moors*; which Ferdinand (ever careful not to lose any credit, through want of displaying his actions) was at some pains to set forth at large, in his letters, with all the particularities and religious punctilioes and ceremonies that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom; declaring, among other things, that he would not by any means, enter the city

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in person, till he had first, at a distance, seen the cross set up upon the greater tower of *Grenada*, whereby it became christian ground: that before he entered, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by a herald, from the height of that tower, that he acknowledged to have received that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, the glorious Virgin, the virtuous apostle St. *James*, and the holy father *Innocent the Eighth*, together with the assistance and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons; that he stirred not from his camp till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred christians, and more, (who had lived in bonds, and servitude, as slaves to the Moors,) pass before him, singing a psalm for their redemption; and that he had given tribute to God, by alms and relief, extended to them all, for his admission into the city. These things were set forth in *Ferdinand's* letters, with many more ceremonies of a kind of holy ostentation.

Henry, ever willing to fall in with all religious actions, and naturally valuing the King of *Spain* (as far as one King can value another), partly for his virtues, and partly as a coun-

a counterpoise to *France*; upon the receipt of these letters, sent all his Nobles, and Prelates, that were about the court, together with the Mayor, and Aldermen of London, in great solemnity, to St. *Paul's* church, there to hear a declaration from the Lord Chancellor, now cardinal. When they were assembled, the Cardinal, standing on the uppermost step, before the quire, and all the nobles, prelates, and governors of the city, at the foot of the stairs, made a speech to them; telling them "that they were assembled in that consecrated place to sing unto God a new song. For though the christians, says he, have not, for many years, gained new ground or territory upon the infidels, nor enlarged the bounds of the christian world; yet, it is now done by the profess and devotion of the King and Queen of *Spain*, who have, to their immortal honour, recovered the great and rich kingdom of *Grenada*, and the populous and mighty city of that name from the *Moors*, who have been in possession of it upwards of seven hundred years. For which, it is the busines of this assembly, and all christians, to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble act of

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of the King of Spain, who in this is not only victorious, but apostolical, in gaining new provinces to the christian faith, and the more so, as this victory hath been obtained without much effusion of blood; whereby it is to be hoped, that in future, there shall be gained not only new territory, but an infinite number of souls to the church of Christ, whom the Almighty seems desirous should live to be converted," Here he related some of the most memorable particulars of the war and victory. After his speech the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, and *Te Deum* was sung.

Immediately after this solemnity, the King kept his May-day at his palace of *Shene*, near *Richmond*; where, to warm the blood of his nobility in preparation for the war, he celebrated, appointed justs and tournaments all that month. In which time it happened, that Sir *James Parker*, and *Hugh Vaughan*, one of the King's gentlemen ushers, having had a dispute respecting certain arms, which the king at arms had given to *Vaughan*, were appointed to run some courses at each other. and by accident of a faulty helmet, which *Parker* wore, he was wounded in the mouth at the first course, so that his tongue was carried

ried into the hinder part of his head, and he died upon the spot. This, on account of the dispute, and the death that followed, was considered amongst the vulgar as a combat, or trial of right.

The King, towards the end of the summer, having prepared his forces to invade *France*, sent *Urfwick*, now his almoner, and Sir *John Risley* to *Maximilian*, to acquaint him that he was in arms, ready to cross the seas into *France*, and desiring to know when and where he meant to join him, according to a promise made him by *Counterbalt*, his ambassador.

The English ambassadors having reached *Maximilian*, found his power and promise at a very great distance, he being utterly unprovided with either men, money, or arms, for such an enterprize. For, *Maximilian*, having neither wings to fly, his patrimony of *Austria* not being in his own hands, (his father being then living) and his matrimonial territories in *Flanders* being partly in dowry to his mother in law, and partly not serviceable, on account of the late rebellion, he was destitute of means to enter on the war. The ambassadors saw this well, but prudently acquainted *Henry* with it; not returning

turning till the King's further pleasure was known. *Maximilian*, however, spoke in as high strains as ever, and amused them with dilatory answers, so that indeed, they had a very good pretence for staying. *Henry*, who doubted as much before, and saw through the business from the beginning, wrote back to his ambassadors, commanding their discretion in not returning, and directing them to keep the situation, in which they found *Maximilian* a secret, till they heard further from him. In the mean time, he prosecuted his voyage to *France*, keeping *Maximilian*'s helpless situation a secret for some time.

'Ere this, a great and powerful army was collected in the city of *London*; in which, were, *Thomas*, marquis of *Dorset*; *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*; *Thomas*, earl of *Derby*; *George*, earl of *Shrewsbury*; *Edmund*, earl of *Suffolk*; *Edward*, earl of *Devonshire*; *George*, earl of *Kent*; the earl of *Essex*; *Thomas*, earl of *Ormond*; with a great number of barons, knights, and principal gentlemen, and amongst these *Richard Thomas*, renowned for the brave troops which he brought out of *Wales*. This army rising in the whole to twenty-five thou-

sand foot, and one thousand six hundred horse; the King gave the command of them under his own person to *Jasper*, duke of *Bedford*, and *John*, earl of *Oxford*. On the 9th of *September*, in the eighth year of his reign, he departed from *Greenwich*, towards the sea; all persons wondering that he should make choice of such a season to begin the war, it being near upon winter. Many, on this account, supposed the war would not be of long continuance. The King, however, on the contrary, gave out, that intending not to make a summer business of it, he set out as soon as he was ready, being determined to pursue the war with the utmost vigour, till he recovered *France*. The 6th of *October* he embarked at *Sandwich*, and the same day landed at *Calais*, which was the rendezvous, where all his forces were appointed to meet. But in the course of his journey towards the sea side, (in which, for the reason we shall now give, he made some delay), he had received letters from Lord *Cordes*, who for being virulent against the *English* in time of war, had the more credit in a negotiation of peace, and was besides considered as an open honest man. In these letters came an overture

ture of peace from the *French* King, with such conditions as were not unpleasing to *Henry*; but all this, at first, was carried on with great secrecy. The King was no sooner at *Calais*, but the calm winds of peace began to blow. The *English* ambassadors returned out of *Flanders* from *Maximilian*, and gave *Henry* to understand, that he was to expect no aid from that quarter. *Maximilian's* will was good, but he had no money. This was made known and spread through the army. And though the *English* were on that account no way discouraged, yet it gave an opening to a peace. Instantly upon the heels of this, (as *Henry* had designed it) came the news that the King and Queen of *Spain*, had concluded a peace with *Charles the French King*; and, that *Charles* had restored them the counties of *Roussillon* and *Perpignan*, which formerly had been, by *John*, King of *Anjou*, *Ferdinand's* father, mortgaged for three thousand crowns, and by this peace had cancelled the debt. This news came opportunely, and helped forward a peace between *England* and *France*; so that *Henry*, having lost an ally in the King of *Spain*, was content that the Bishop of *Exeter*, and Lord *D'Aubigny*, go-

vernor of *Calais*, should give Lord *Cordes* the meeting to treat of peace. He, however, and his army, moved from *Calais* the 15th of *October*, and in four days march, sat down before *Bullogne*.

During the siege of *Bullogne*, which continued near a month, there passed nothing worth recording, except that Sir *John Savage*, a valiant captain, was slain, as he rode round the walls of the town to take a view. The town was well fortified, and well manned, yet it was distressed and ready for an assault, and had it been given, it was thought would have cost much blood, though the town would have been carried in the end. A peace, however, was concluded by the commissioners in the mean time, which was to last during both the Kings lives. There was no article of importance in the treaty, it being rather a bargain than otherwise, for all things remained as they were, except that *Henry* was to be paid 745,000 ducats at present, for his expences in that journey ; and 25,000 crowns yearly, for his expences incurred in his aid of *Bretagne*. For which annual pay, though *Maximilian* was before bound for the expences, yet *Henry* was as much pleased with the change of the Guarantee, as with the principal

principal debt, to be paid. Besides, it was left somewhat indefinite, when this annuity should expire; which led the *English* to consider it as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his son *Henry* the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any calculation of expences. Great pensions were also given by the *French* King to *Henry*'s principal counsellors, besides many rich gifts.

Henry did not seem willing to own this peace, and therefore, a little before it was concluded, clandestinely procured some of the leading men in his army, to advise him to a peace under their signatures, in the nature of a supplication. In short, the peace was welcome to both Kings. To *Charles*, as it guaranteed the possession of *Bretagne*, and freed the enterprize of *Naples*; to *Henry*, as it filled his coffers, and as he foresaw at that time, a storm of inward troubles breaking in upon him, which presently after took place. But, it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had, many of them, sold or engaged their estates on the hopes of the war. They scrupled not to say, that the King cared not

how he plucked his nobility and people so he feathered himself. Some made themselves merry with what the King had said in parliament; namely, that after the war was once begun, he doubted not but he should make it pay itself; saying, he had kept his promise.

Henry having quitted *Bullogne*, went to *Calais*, where he stayed some time; from whence, also, he wrote letters (a courtesy he sometimes used), to the Mayor of London, and the Aldermen his brethren; half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace; knowing well, that a full exchequer is always good news in *London*. And better news it would have been, had their benevolence been but a loan. On the 17th of *December* following, he returned to *Westminster*, where he kept his *Christmas*.

Soon after his return, he sent the Order of the Garter to *Alphonso*, duke of *Calabria*, eldest son of *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*; an honour sought by that prince, to hold him up in the eyes of the *Italians*, who expecting the approach of the *French* King, with his army, reckoned much on the amity of *England*, as a bridle to *France*. It was received by *Alphon-*

so with all the ceremony and pomp that could be devised, as things used to be carried that are intended for opinion. It was sent by *Urfwick*, on whom, the King bestowed this embassage, to help him after many dry employments.

Now arose fresh domestic troubles to *Henry*. The lady *Margaret* took it into her head to raise the Duke of *York*, the second son of *Edward* the Fourth, from the dead. This was a finer plot than that of *Lambert Simnel's*. For *Simnel*, there was not much in him, except that he was a handsome boy, and did not disgrace his robes. But this youth, of whom we are now to speak, was a lad of talents, and could make his own story good. The lady *Margaret*, whom the King's friends called *Juno*, because she was to him as *Juno* was to *Aeneas*, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief; as a foundation for her conduct, did, by every possible means maintain, and divulge the flying opinion that *Richard*, duke of *York*, second son to *Edward* the Fourth, was not murdered in the tower, (as was given out) but saved alive. For that those who were employed in that barbarous act, having destroyed the elder brother, were

struck with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This lure she cast abroad; conceiving, that the report and belief of it would draw, at one time or other, some birds to strike on it. She did not indeed commit it all to chance, but took some pains to find out handsome and graceful youths, whom she might convert into *Plantagenets*, and Dukes of *York*. At last she light on one, in whom all things met as one could wish, to serve her purpose, as a counterfeit of *Richard duke of York*.

This was *Perkin Warbeck*, whose adventures we shall now relate. In the first place, his age agreed well with the Duke of *York's*; secondly, he was a comely youth, and of an elegant shape; nay, more than this, he had such a crafty and bewitching manner in him, as both moved compassion and excited belief: it was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those who saw him, or knew him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer, or as the King called him, such a *land-loper*, that it was very difficult to hunt out either his nest or his parents. Neither could any man, by company or conversing with

with him, be able to say, or detect well, what he was, he so flitted from place to place. Lastly, there was a circumstance (mentioned by one that wrote at the same time) that is very likely to have added to the matter; namely, that *Edward* the Fourth was his godfather; which, as it is somewhat suspicious, for a wanton prince to stand gossip in so mean a house, might lead a man to think he might indeed have in him some base blood of the house of *York*; so that it might put it into the boy's head, who was often called, King *Edward*'s godson, or perhaps in sport, his son, to believe himself to be the son of *Edward* the Fourth in reality. For tutor he had none, as *Lambert Simnel* had, until he came to the Lady *Margaret*, who instructed him.

Now, there was in *Tournay*, a man who had born office as a townsmen in that city, whose name was *John Osbeck*, a convert jew, married to *Catherine de Faro*, whose business drew him to live, for a time, with his wife, at *London*, in King *Edward* the Fourth's days; during which time, he had a son by her, and being known in court, the King, either out of a religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him

him the honour to stand godfather to his child, and named him *Peter*. But afterwards proving a delicate and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of this name, *Peter-kin*, or *Perkin*. As to his surname, *Warbeck*, it was given him by guess, before a nomination had been taken. Yet, however, he had been so much talked of by that name, that it stuck by him even after his true name of *Osbeck* was known. Whilst he was a child, his parents returned with him to *Tournay*, where he was placed in the hands of a kinsman, called *John Stanbeck*, at *Antwerp*; roving up and down between *Antwerp*, *Tournay*, and other towns in *Flanders*, for a long time, living much with the *English*, and thus acquiring the *English* tongue perfectly. In which time, being grown a comely youth, he was picked up by some of those Lady *Margaret* employed to search for such a lad, and taken into her presence. She, viewing him well, and seeing that he had a face and person equal to her wishes, and finding him of a good spirit and winning behaviour, conceived him to be a proper person to represent the Duke of *York*. She kept him with her a great while, but with the utmost secrecy; during which

which time, she instructed him in the part he was to act. First, in princely behaviour and gesture, teaching him how he should keep up a kind of state, and yet, with a modest sense of his misfortunes.—She next informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that concerned the person of *Richard duke of York*, whom he was to represent, describing to him the personages, lineaments, and features of the King and Queen, his pretended parents; and of his brothers, sisters and divers others, that were nearest him in childhood; together with all passages, some secret and some common, that were fit for a child's memory, till the death of King *Edward*.—Then she added the particulars of the time from the King's death, till he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as whilst he was in sanctuary. As for the time, whilst he was a prisoner in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape, she knew they were matters very few could contradict; and, therefore, she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those circumstances, cautioning him not to vary from the same story. It was a-

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greed, likewise, between them, what account he should give of the time he was abroad, intermixing many things that were true, and such as they knew others could verify, for the credit of the rest ; but still making them hang together with the part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid such questions as he might be asked in order to ensnare him ; but, in this, she found him naturally so quick and shifting, that she trusted much to his own readiness, and of course took less pains in this point.—Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and further promises ; setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a crown, if things went well and a sure refuge to her court, if the worst should happen. When she thought he was perfect in his lesson, she began to consider with herself, from what coast this blazing star should first appear, and at what time it should be on the horizon of *Ireland*; for there had the like meteor strong influence before. She intended that he should make his appearance there, at the time the King was engaged in a war with *France*; but she was not willing he should depart thence from

Flanders,

Flanders, lest it should be supposed that she was concerned in the plot. Besides, the time was not ripe for the purpose ; *France* and *England*, being then at peace. To remove, therefore, all inquiry, for the present, she sent him into *Portugal*, with Lady Brampton, an *English* lady, where he was to continue, under the inspection of a person she appointed to watch him, till he received her further directions. In the mean time, she prepared matters for his reception, not only in *Ireland*, but in *France*. He was in *Portugal* about a year, and by that time the King of *England* had called his Parliament, and declared war with *France*. The Dukes, therefore, now sent for him, and dispatched him to *Ireland*, as she first designed. He landed at *Cork*, where, according to his own story, (which he afterwards confessed) the people flocked round him, and would have it that he was the Duke of *Clarence*, that had been there before.—Next, they asserted that he was *Richard* the Third's natural son.—And, lastly, that he was *Richard*, duke of *York*, second son to *Edward* the Fourth. But, that he, for his part, assured them, and was ready to swear, that
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he was no such person ; till at last, they forced him to acknowledge it ; and, had him be afraid of nothing. But, the truth is, that, immediately upon his coming into *Ireland*, he gave out, that he was, *Richard, duke of York* ; and took all the pains he could, to procure himself friends, and abettors ; insomuch, that he wrote to the Earls of *Desmond*, and *Kildare* ; to support his cause, and assist him.—These letters are still in being.

Rather before this time, the Duchess had gained over to her interest, one *Stephen Frion*, who had been *Henry's* secretary for the *French* tongue, an active man, but turbulent and discontented. This *Frion* had fled to *Charles the French King*, and entered into his service, at the time he began to be at open enmity with *Henry*. Now, *Charles*, when he heard of this scheme of *Perkin's*, being ever ready to take part against the King of *England*, persuaded by the Lady *Margaret*, and instigated by *Frion*, dispatched one *Lucas*, and this *Frion*, to *Perkin*, in the nature of ambassadors, to acquaint him, that he was resolved to aid him, to recover his right against *Henry*, a usurper of *England*, and en-

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my to *France*; and wished him to pay him a visit at *Paris*. So great an invitation, and in so honourable a manner, put *Perkin* almost beside himself: and imparting his good fortune to his friends in *Ireland*, and the hopes he had in the favour and assistance of the King of *France*, set off immediately for *Paris*. When he reached the court of *France*, the King received him with great honour, saluted, and styled him Duke of *York*, lodged him, and accommodated him in great state. And in order to give him the countenance of a prince, assigned him a guard for his person, of which one *Congresall* was captain. At this time, several Englishmen of quality, joined him, namely, Sir *George Nevile*, Sir *John Taylor*, and near one hundred more; and, amongst the rest, this *Stephen Friar*, who followed his fortune for a long time, and was his chief counsellor, and agent in all his proceedings. The French King having entered into this scheme, merely to bring *Henry* to terms of peace; as soon as peace was concluded at *Bullogne*, he gave up *Perkin's* cause; but would not for his honour's sake, deliver him into *Henry's* hands, therefore banished him his kingdom.

Perkin

Perkin, on his part, was as eager to be gone, lest he should be unexpectedly entrapped. He made the best of his way, therefore, into Flanders, to the Duchess of Burgundy, pretended that he flew to her for protection, and not seeming to have been there before. The Duchess joined in the deceit, seemed unwilling, at first, to receive him, having been taught experience by the example of *Lambert Simnel*, took seeming pains to sift the matter, and find out whether he was the very Duke of York, or not:—then pretending to be convinced of the truth of it, she feigned herself transported with a kind of astonishment, mixed with joy and wonder, at his miraculous deliverance, receiving him, as if he was arisen from the dead, and inferring that God, who had in so wonderful a manner preserved him from death, had likewise reserved him for some great and prosperous fortune. His dismission from France, was interpreted in his favour; his being abandoned by the French King, being no less than being sacrificed as a victim to the convenience and ambition of two mighty monarchs. As for Perkin, he was far from wanting either in gracious or princely

ly behaviour, in ready or apposite answers, or in satisfying and caressing those who applied to him, so that it was generally believed, among all classes of people, that he was indeed duke *Richard*. Nay, he had told his own story so often, that he believed it at last himself. The Duchess, therefore, as in a case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, called him her nephew, gave him the delicate title of the White Rose of *England*, and appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, clothed in a party coloured livery of murrey and blue. Her court likewise, and in general the Dutch and all strangers, in their behaviour to him, shewed him no less respect.

It was soon noised abroad in *England*, that the duke of *York* was certainly alive. He was not known in *England* by the name of *Perkin Warbeck*, but that of the duke of *York*: and, it was said, that he had been entertained in *Ireland*, bought and sold in *France*, and was now plainly acknowledged and received with great honours in *Flanders*. The people laid hold of this story, and encouraged it with avidity; some, through motives of discontent with *Henry's* conduct;

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some, through ambition, and the hopes of getting on, by taking an active part; some few, through levity, and a fondness for novelty; some few, from a belief of the fact, but, most through simplicity. They began to murmur against *Henry*, as a great taxer of his people, and a discourager of his nobility. The loss of *Bretagne* and the peace with *France* was not forgotten. But the chief offence they took at *Henry*, was the wrong he did his queen, in not acknowledging that he reigned in right of her. For this reason, say they, God has brought to light a male branch of the house of *York*, that will not submit to be oppressed as his lady is. Though these general invectives were like running weeds without a visible or certain root; or, like footings up and down, impossible to be traced; yet, they soon grew to a head, and settled on Sir *William Stanley*, lord chamberlain of the household; Lord *Fitzwater*; Sir *Simon Mountfort*, and Sir *Thomas Thwaites*. These entered into a secret conspiracy in favour of duke *Richard*. But none engaged in this business openly, except Sir *Robert Clifford*, and Master *William Barley*, who went over

over to *Flanders*, sent indeed from the conspirators here, to learn the truth of these reports, with a certain sum of money, to be delivered him, if they found, and were satisfied that, there was truth in the story; Sir *Robert Clifford* being a man of some family, was well received by the duchess of *Burgundy*; who, after a conference with him, introduced him to *Perkin*; and he was soon induced to write back to *England* that he knew the person of *Richard*, duke of *York*, as well as he knew his own; and, that this young man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things were prepared for revolt here, and the conspiracy was strengthened by a correspondence between *Flanders* and *England*.

The King, on his part, was not asleep; but, was unwilling to arm or levy forces yet, as it would betray fear, and do this idol too much worship. The ports, however, he ordered to be shut up; or, at least to be so watched, that no suspected person should pass to and fro: with respect to other things he went secretly to work. His plan was to lay open the abuse, and break the knot of the conspirators. To accomplish the first,

he endeavoured to make it manifest to the world, that the duke of *York* was indeed murdered; and to effect the latter, his plan was to prove, that whether he were dead or alive, *Perkin* was an impostor. As to the murther of the duke of *York*, there were but few persons that could say any thing to it upon their own knowledge. Sir *James Tirrel*, the person employed by King *Richard*; *John Dighton*, and *Miles Forrest*, his servants the two butchers, and the priest of the Tower, that buried them; of which four, *Miles Forrest* and the priest were dead. But the King caused Sir *James Tirrel* and *John Dighton*, who were then living, to be committed to the Tower, and examined respecting the death of the two princes. These two, as the King gave out, agreed in one tale, that King *Richard* having directed his warrant to *Brackenbury*, lieutenant of the Tower, for putting them to death, was by him refused. Upon which, *Richard* issued a warrant to Sir *James Tirrel*, directing him for one night to receive the keys of the Tower from the Lieutenant, for some special service that he required of him. That Sir *James Tirrel* accordingly went to the Tower at night, attended

tended by his two servants before mentioned, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That Sir *James* stood at the stair-case, and sent these two villains to execute the murder. That they smothered them in their bed, and having so done, called up their master to see their naked dead bodies which they had laid out. That they were buried under the stairs, and some stones cast upon them. That when King *Richard* was made acquainted with the completion of his orders, he gave Sir *James Tirrel* great thanks, but did not like the place of their burial, it being too mean for the sons of a King. That in consequence of this, by a fresh warrant from the King, their bodies were removed by the priest of the Tower, and buried by him in some place, which, on account of the priest's death, could not be discovered. Such was said publickly to be the result of the examination of these persons, of which indeed the King made no use in any of his declarations, for Sir *James Tirrel* was soon after beheaded in the Tower yard for other treasons. But *John Dighton*, who gave the best evidence for the King, was immediately set at liberty; and was the chief person

through whom this story was made public. The next thing *Henry* did, was to have the origin of *Perkin* traced. For this purpose he sent abroad, particularly into *Flanders*, several secret and able scouts and spies; some of whom pretended to fly to *Perkin* as his adherents; others, under other pretences, laboured to learn, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of *Perkin*, his birth, and person, his travels from place to place; in short, all he had been doing through the course of his life. He supplied these emissaries with money liberally, that they might give ample rewards for intelligence; directing them to acquaint him, from time to time, with the discoveries he made. Others he employed in a trust of a more especial nature. They were directed to insinuate themselves into the familiarity and confidence of the chief of the party in *Flanders*, in order to come at their associates and correspondents either here in *England*, or abroad, to find out how far every one was engaged, and what new persons they meant afterwards to try to bring over to their measures: thus discovering all they could of *Perkin*, the conspirators, their intentions

intentions, hopes and practices. These latter emissaries had some of them further instructions, to tamper with and draw off *Perkin's* best friends and servants, by remonstrating with them on how weak a foundation his enterprize and hopes were built, and with how prudent and powerful a King they had to deal with, and assuring them that that King would not only pardon, but reward them; and they were particularly enjoined, if possible, to bring over Sir *Robert Clifford*, he being conceived to be the strength of the adverse party.

In order to give his emissaries greater credit with the party abroad, *Henry* had them cursed at *St. Paul's* by name (according to the custom of those times), among the bead-roll of the King's enemies. This had its effect, for they in a short time sent him every particular of *Perkin's* life, his correspondents in *England*, and Sir *Robert Clifford* was brought over to the King's interest. This known and made public, *Henry* thought it a proper time to send an embassage to the arch-duke *Philip* in *Flanders*, requesting him to abandon, and send *Perkin* out of his territories. Sir *Edward Poyning*, and Sir

William Warham, doctor of the canon-law, were the ambassadors. The Arch-duke was then young and governed by his council, before whom the ambassadors had audience, and *Doctor Warham*, thus addressed them.

My Lords,

“The King, our master, is very sorry, that as *England* and *Flanders* have been so nearly allied for a number of years, this country should of all others give countenance to an impostor, to represent a King of *England*, not only to the mortification and dishonour of his Grace, but to the scorn and reproach of all sovereign princes. To counterfeit the dead image of a king in his coin, is a high offence to all laws, but to counterfeit the living image of a king in his person, exceeds all counterfeits, except that of *Mahomet* or an *antichrist*, that counterfeites divine honour. The matter in itself is so improbable, that the king, who hath too high an opinion of this council, cannot think any of you taken with the story. Setting aside the plain and infallible testimonies of the death of duke *Richard*, (lest they should be supposed at the king’s command); let the thing

thing speak for itself. Sense and reason no power can controul. Is it possible think you, that King *Richard* should damn his soul, and foul his name with so abominable a murder, without reaping any benefit himself? Or can you suppose, that those blood-thirsty men whom he employed were excited to pity, during this horrid deed, especially when it is known, that cruel and savage beasts and men also, are rendered more fierce and savage by the first appearance of blood? Are you not sensible that the bloody executioners of tyrants, proceed in their office with a halter about their necks? So that if they perform it not, they are sure to die for it? And can you imagine that these men would risk their own lives to spare that of another? But admit for a moment that they should have spared his life; what could they have done with him? Turn him into *London* streets, that the watchmen or any other passenger might take him before a magistrate, and bring all to light; or should they have kept him by them secretly? That surely would have been attended with much care, expence, and continual fear. But my Lords, I labour too much

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in a clear affair. The King is so well informed, and has such good friends about *Perkin*, that he knows his whole history from his cradle. This scheme is similar to that of *Lambert Simnels*, and it is the strangest thing in the world that the lady *Margaret*, whose malice to the king, is both causeless and endless, should give her favour and patronage to two such impostors. My Lords, we dwell unwillingly on this part. Would to God that the duchess of *Burgundy* would take pleasure in seeing her niece reign in happiness and honour, and blessed as she is with such an issue! It is natural to expect it to be the King's request to the Arch-duke and your Lordships, that you should banish this unworthy fellow out of your dominions, as King *Charles* has already done. But, you being his ancient ally, whereas, King *Charles* is a new reconciled enemy, he maketh his request to you, through us, that you will deliver him up into his hands: pirates and impostors of this kind, not being entitled to the protection of the law of nations, but fit only to be held as the common enemies of mankind."

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After some deliberation the ambassadors received this short answer.

"That the Arch-duke out of affection to King *Henry*, would in no sort aid or assist the pretended Duke but in all things preserve his friendship with the King. As for the Duchess dowager, she was absolute in the lands of her dowry, and he could not interfere."

Henry on the return of his ambassadors was not satisfied with this answer; well knowing that a patrimonial dowry carried no sovereignty nor command of forces. Besides, the ambassadors told him plainly that they were convinced the Duchess had many friends in the Arch-duke's council, and that though it was pretended he should have no assistance from that quarter, they were sure the Arch-duke would secretly aid *Perkin* and further his wishes. The King therefore, partly from courage and partly from policy, banished all *Flemings* out of *England*, and commanded his subjects and merchant-adventurers then residing in *Antwerp* immediately to return, removing the market, which commonly followed the *English*, cloth to *Calais*, and put a stop to all further trade between the

English

English and *Flemings* for the future. It was a nice point of honour that swayed Henry to this, not suffering a pretender to the crown of *England*, to be countenanced by a state, with whom he was on terms of friendship. But, he had a further view in it. For as the subjects of *Flanders* received great advantages by trading with *England*, he knew this embargo would soon make him weary of *Perkin*; and as the tumults of *Flanders* had been so late and fresh, it was no time for the Prince to displease the people. However, by way of requital and for form's sake, the Arch-duke banished the *English* from *Flanders*, which in effect was done to his hand.

Henry, being well informed that *Perkin* relied more upon friends and adherents in *England*, than on the aid of foreign arms, thought it necessary to apply the remedy where the disease lay, and to proceed with severity against some of the principal conspirators within the realm. He caused therefore, almost in an instant, *John Ratcliff*, *Lord Fitzwalter*, *Sir Simon Mountfort*, *Sir Thomas Thwaites*, *William D'Aubigney*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, *Thomas Cressenor*, and *Tho-*
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mas Astwood to be apprehended. These were arraigned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to *Perkin*, convicted and condemned. Of these lord *Fitzwalter* was conveyed to Calais, and there imprisoned with hopes of life, but soon after having endeavoured to escape, was beheaded. Sir *Simon Mountfort*, Robert *Ratcliffe*, and *William D'Aubigny*, were beheaded immediately after their condemnation. The rest were pardoned together with many others clerks and laics, amongst whom were two *Dominican* friars, and *William*, dean of *St. Paul's*. This latter fort underwent an examination, but were not brought to a regular trial.

On the eve of *Alballowes* day, being the 10th year of the King's reign, his second son *Henry* was created duke of *York*, and with divers others made a knight of the *Bath*. On the 7th day of *January*, 1496, the King removed from *Westminster*, where he had kept his *Christmas*, to the tower of *London*. He did this as soon as he knew that Sir *Robert Clifford* who was acquainted with most of *Perkin's* secrets was come to *England*: and the tower was made choice of,

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that, in case *Clifford* should accuse any of the principal courtiers, they might be taken into custody, without noise, or the issuing of warrants; the court and prison being within the cincture of one wall. A day or two after, *Henry* called a select council, and admitted *Clifford* to his presence, who falling down at his feet and humbly craving the King's pardon, it was immediately granted, though he had been secretly assured of his life before. Being now commanded to tell what he knew; he voluntarily impeached Sir *William Stanley* lord chamberlain, and many others.

Henry was thunderstruck when this lord was named, as if he had heard the news of some strange and fearful prodigy. To hear a man that had done him such signal service, as to save his life and set the crown upon his head; a man who enjoyed through his favour so much wealth and honour; a man so nearly allied to him, his brother having married the King's mother; a man to whom he had entrusted his person in making him his chamberlain; to hear that this man no way disgraced, no ways discontented, no ways in fear, should prove false

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to him and become his enemy, was wonderful. *Clifford* was desired to repeat the particulars of his accusation again and again, and warned not to proceed too far in a case so very improbable. But the King, finding that he invariably persisted in what he had before said, offering to justify it upon his soul and life, ordered him to withdraw. *Henry*, after expressing to his council his astonishment and concern at Sir *William Stanley*'s conduct, gave orders that he should be confined to his apartment in the square tower: and the next day he was examined by the lords. On his examination, he denied but little of that with which he had been charged; nor did he endeavour much to excuse or extenuate his fault; so that in cautiously thinking to make his offence less, by confession, he made it sufficient to condemn him. It was supposed that he trusted much to his former merits, and the interest his brother had with the King. But this was overweighed by divers things that made against him in the King's mind and disposition. He boasted an over-merit, this *Henry* disliked; he disliked also *Stanley*'s power, conceiving that he who could set

him up, was best able to pull him down. The consideration of his property also had its weight with *Henry*; *Stanley* being accounted the richest subject in the kingdom: there being found in his castle of *Holt*, 40,000 marks, in ready money, and plate, besides jewels, furniture, and live stock, to a very great amount. His revenue in land and fee was 3000*l.* a year old rent, a very large income in those days. But lastly, the nature of the times made against him, for had *Henry* been out of fear for himself, he probably would have spared his life; but the dread of a rebellion so great, made him work sure. Therefore, after the space of about six weeks, in which the King interposed to give *Stanley's* brother an opportunity to intercede for him, and to shew the world how unwilling he was to let him suffer, he was arraigned of high treason, condemned, and presently after beheaded.

It is still however to this day uncertain what the case was for which Sir *William Stanley* suffered; what was the ground and cause of his defection and alienation from the King. His case was said to be this; that in conversation with Sir *Robert Clifford*, he

he hath said, if he were sure that that young man was King *Edward's* son, he would never bear arms against him. These words were deemed high treason by the judges of that time. But some writers put this matter out of doubt, saying, that *Stanley* expressly promised to aid *Perkin*, and sent him money accordingly.

As to his motive for deserting the King; it is true, that in *Bosworth-field*, *Henry* was beset and in a manner hemmed round by King *Richard's* troops, and of course in manifest danger of his life. At this instant *Stanley* was sent by his brother with 3000 men to rescue him; which he did, so effectually, that *Richard* was slain upon the place, and *Stanley* put the crown which *Richard* wore, upon *Henry's* head. For which service the King made him great presents, and appointed him his counsellor and chamberlain, and, contrary to his nature, winked at the great spoils of *Bosworth-field*, which fell chiefly to this man's share. Yet *Stanley* did not think himself sufficiently rewarded. His ambition was so unbounded, as led him to petition the King for the earldom of *Chester*, which being an appendage to the

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principality of *Wales*, and belonging to the King's son, was refused him. Indeed the King, finding his desires were immoderate, and that the rewards he had bestowed upon him, were but lightly regarded, did not think so well of him as he otherwise would have done; but having nothing to complain of, he continued him in his place till his fall.

Giles, lord D'Aubigny, a brave, moderate and respectable man, succeeded *Stanley*, as lord chamberlain.

It was commonly reported at that time, that Sir *Robert Clifford*, who was now become the state informer, was from the beginning an emissary of King *Henry's*; and that he fled into *Flanders*, with his consent and privity. But this is not probable, because he never recovered that degree of confidence which he had with the King before he left *England*; and chiefly, because the discovery he made respecting Sir *William Stanley*, (which was his great service), arose not from any thing he learned abroad, he being well acquainted with it before he went.

These executions, and especially that of the Lord Chamberlain, who was the chief strength

strength of the party, discouraged *Perkin* and his accomplices much. They began to distrust each other; and indeed many through fear deserted *Perkin*, and came over to the King. *Barley*, who was joint commissioner with *Clifford*, held out one of the longest, yet made his peace at last. The Lord Chamberlain having suffered, by saying little more in effect than that the title of *York* was better than the title of *Lancaster*, which was the opinion of almost every man; so great was the terror amongst all the king's servants and subjects, that no man thought himself safe: they were afraid to talk with one another, and a general diffidence took place every where.

Swarms and volleys of libels now sprung forth, containing bitter invectives against the King and some of the council, for which five common people suffered death.

Henry, in the mean time, turned his attention to *Ireland*, where he sent the Prior of *Lanthony*, as chancellor of that kingdom; and, Sir *Edward Poynings* with an armed force, and a martial and civil commission, containing a clause that the earl of *Kildare*, then deputy lieutenant, should

obey him. But the wild Irish (who were the principal offenders) fled into the woods and bogs for shelter, and those who knew themselves guilty fled to them ; so that Sir *Edward* was obliged to pursue them without any kind of order, and, owing to the mountains and their strong holds, he could do little good ; which he was pleased to impute to the aids the rebels clandestinely received from the earl of *Kildare* ; upon which he caused the Earl to be apprehended and sent to *England* ; where, upon examination, he cleared himself so well as to be reinstated in his government. But *Poynings*, to make amends for his ill-success in his martial services, called a parliament, in which passed that memorable act called *Poynings's law*, by which all the statutes of *England* were of force in *Ireland*.

About this time began to be discovered in *Henry* that disposition, which afterwards encouraged by bad counsellors and ministers, proved the blot of his times ; I mean the method he took of plundering his subjects by forfeitures upon penal laws. And the people were the more surprized at it, as his exchequer was at this time full ; for he had just

just received the peace money from *France*; the benevolence money from his subjects; and several accidental sums upon the confiscations of the Lord Chamberlains' property, and that of divers others. The first remarkable case of this kind was that of Sir *William Capel*, alderman of *London*, who upon sundry penal laws, was condemned in the sum of 2700*l.* and compounded with the King for 1600*l.* And yet after this, *Empson* would have squeezed him again, had not the King died in the instant.

Henry, in order to comfort his mother whom he dearly loved and revered, and to demonstrate to the world, that the proceedings against Sir *William Stanley* (which were imposed upon him by necessity of state) had not in any degree diminished his affection for his brother *Thomas*, went with a suite to *Latham*, to pass some time with his Mother and the Earl; and afterwards to take a tour round the country.

Perkin, in the mean time, relying on the affections of the people of *England*, to the House of *York*, determined to erect his standard on the coast of *Kent*, and the King's journey into the north was supposed to be an

act of policy to draw *Perkin* upon the *English* coast, that he might have an opportunity there of tripping up his heels.

Perkin, accordingly, collected a strong army, composed of different nations, but chiefly such whose fortunes were desperate : many of them being bankrupts and felons and such as lived by rapine. With these he put to sea, and arrived off the court of *Sandwich* about the month of *July*. There he cast anchor, and to prove the affections of the people, sent some of his men on shore, boasting of the great number of forces that were to follow him. The *Kentish* men perceiving that *Perkin* was not attended by any *Englishmen* of consequence, and that his forces consisted chiefly of foreigners, and most of them of low extraction and free-booters, more calculated to plunder a coast than recover a kingdom ; applied to the principal gentlemen of the country, professing their loyalty to the King, and desiring to be directed in what manner they could best act for his service. The gentlemen, entering into consultation, directed that a number of soldiers should shew themselves upon the coast and make signs to *Perkin*, enticing

enticing his soldiers to land, as if they were disposed to join them; some were in other places, ordered to make an appearance of flight, in hopes of encouraging *Perkin's* party to disembark. But *Perkin*, who doubted their sincerity, from the regularity and order in which the *Kentish* men appeared, would not leave his ship, till he saw things were more secure. The King's forces, therefore, finding they could allure no greater number on shore than those who had landed at first, fell upon them and cut them in pieces, 'ere they could retreat to their shipping. In this skirmish, besides those that fled and were slain, about 150 were taken prisoners, who, by order of the King, were all hanged. They were brought to *London* linked all together with ropes, like a team of horses in a cart; and were executed, some of them at *London*, some at *Wapping*, and the rest at divers places upon the sea-coasts of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Norfolk*, as sea-marks or beacons to teach *Perkin's* people to avoid the coast. *Henry* being informed of the landing of these rebels, was inclined to discontinue his tour, but, hearing the next day that they were partly defeated and partly fled, he con-

tinued his progress, dispatching Sir *Richard Guildford* into *Kent*, commanding the people for their fidelity and valour; thanking them publicly and privately rewarding such as had been most active, and most instrumental to this defeat.

On the 16th of November, 1497, was held the Serjeant's feast at *Ely* place. The King and Queen honoured this feast with their presence. They dined there. For *Henry* was a prince that was ever ready to do honour to, and countenance, the professors of the law; for as he governed his subjects by his laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers.

This year, also, the King entered into a league with *Italy*, for its defence against *France*. For King *Charles* had conquered *Naples* and lost it again. He traversed the whole length of *Italy* without resistance; so that what Pope *Alexander* used to say, was true, that the *French* came into *Italy* with chalk in their hands to mark out their lodging, rather than with swords to fight. He likewise entered and took possession of the whole kingdom of *Naples*, without striking a stroke. But at the same time, he committed

mitted so many errors, that all his good fortune fell to the ground. He did not study to gratify the barons of *Naples* of the faction of the *Angevines*; but scattered his rewards, according to the mercenary dispositions of some few that were about him. He put all *Italy* upon their guard, by seizing and holding of *Ostia*, and protecting the liberty of *Pisa*, which led men to suspect that his design extended further than his title of *Naples*. He differed also soon with *Ludovico Sforza*, who carried the keys which brought him in and shut him out. He omitted also to extinguish some remains of the war; and, lastly, his easy uninterrupted passage through *Italy*, led him to think so little of the *Italian* arms, that, at his departure, he left the realm of *Naples* so indifferently provided for; that not long after his return, the whole kingdom revolted to *Ferdinand* the younger, and all the *French* were driven out. King *Charles*, however, threatened highly, and made great preparations to enter *Italy* again. At the instance, therefore, of several of the *Italian* states, and especially of Pope *Alexander*, a league was concluded between the said Pope; *Maximilian*, King of the *R-*

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mans; Henry, King of England; Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain; Augustino Barbarico, Duke of Venice; and Ludovico Sforzia, Duke of Milan, for the common defence of their territories ; in which league, though *Ferdinand of Naples* was not named as a principal, yet no doubt the kingdom of *Naples* was tacitly included as a fee of the church.

Cecily, duchess of York, mother to Edward the Fourth, died this year at her castle of *Berkamstead*, very much advanced in years ; and was buried by her husband at *Fotheringham*. She had lived to see three princes of her body crowned and four murdered.

This year, also, the King called a parliament, and a strange law was made, rather just than legal, and more great than provident. This law ordained that no person assisting, in arms or otherwise, the King for the time being, should be afterwards impeached or attainted either by the course of law, or by act of Parliament. And if any such act of attainder should happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect, it being consonant to reasons of state that the subject should not enquire into the justness of

of the King's title, or dispute ; and, it was agreeable to conscience, that (whatever the fortune of the war might be) the subject should not suffer for his obedience. Now though this law set the people at their ease, that, however things turned out, their safety was provided for ; yet it took away from *Henry*'s party that tie and spur of necessity which led them either to die or conquer, as with respect to them it was of little moment whether they stood their ground or ran away. The obligation of this law was, however, illusory, as a preceding act of parliament cannot bind or destroy a future one. There was an instance of this in *Henry* the Eighth's time.—He, fearing he might die during the minority of his son, procured an act to pass, that no statute made during the minority of the King, should bind him or his successors, except it was confirmed by the King under his great seal, when at full age. But the first that passed in his son *Edward* the Sixth's time, was a repeal of that former act, though the King was at that time a minor. Things, however, that do not bind, may satisfy for the time.

Another

Another act was passed to make the sums which any one had agreed to pay on the score of benevolence, liable by course of law. This not only brought in the arrears, but gave a countenance to the whole transaction, it being pretended to be passed at the desire of those who were most forward to pay.

In this parliament also was made that good law, which gave the attaint upon a false verdict between party and party, and which before was irremediable. There was another law made against a branch of ingratitude in women, who having been advanced by their husbands, or their husband's ancestors, should alien with a view to defeat the heirs or those in remainder of the lands to which they had been so advanced. The remedy was by giving power to the next to enter for a forfeiture.

There was also enacted that charitable law for the admission of poor suitors *in forma pauperis* without fee to counsellor, attorney, or clerk; and some other good laws.

Henry all this time, though he sat in parliament, as in full peace, and seemed to smile at the schemes of Perkin, who was now

now returned into *Flanders*, yet he wisely gave orders for a strict look out at what he was about. *Perkin* sailed again into *Ireland*; but since his absence, the King's diligence and *Poynings*'s commission had so settled matters there, that nothing was left for *Perkin* but the blustering affection of a wild and naked people. He was, therefore, advised to apply for aid to the King of *Scotland*, who was a young and valorous prince, on good terms with his people, and ill-affected to King *Henry*. At this time, also, *Maximilian* and *Charles* of *France* began to bear *Henry* no good will; the first being displeased with his prohibition of trade with *Flanders*; the other suspecting him for entering into league with the *Italians*: on which account *Perkin* had not only all the aid the duchess of *Burgundy* could give him; but, secret aid from *Maximilian* and *Charles*. These last recommended him to the King of *Scotland*.

Perkin, therefore coming into *Scotland* upon these hopes, with a well appointed suite, was, by the King of *Scots*, very honourably received, and, soon after his arrival, admitted to his presence with great ceremony; for

the King received him in his chair of state, attended by numbers of his nobility. *Perkin*, well attended, as well with those whom the King had sent to introduce him as all his train, entered the room where the King was, and, approaching him with a bow, embraced him; then, retiring a few paces back, thus addressed him.

High and Mighty King,

“ Your Grace, and these, your nobles, here present, be pleased to listen to the tragic fate of a young man, by right entitled to weigh a sceptre, but tossed by fortune from misery to misery, and place to place. Behold here before you, the spectacle of a *Plantagenet*, who hath been carried from the nursery to a sanctuary, from the sanctuary to a prison, from a prison to the hand of a barbarous assassin, and from that hand, to a wide wilderness, for such the world hath been to him; so that he who is born heir to a great kingdom, hath not ground on which to set his foot, except where he now stands by your princely favour. *Edward* the Fourth, late King of *England*, (as your Grace must have heard) left his sons, *Edward*

ward, and *Richard*, duke of *York*, both very young, *Edward* the eldest succeeded his father in the crown, by the name of *Edward* the Fifth, but *Richard*, duke of *Glocester*, his unnatural uncle, arbitrarily thirsting for the kingdom, fought their blood, in order to secure that kingdom to himself; for this purpose he employed a confidant to murther both the King and his brother. The man, however, who was employed to execute the horrid deed, having cruelly slain King *Edward*, the eldest of the two, was partly induced by remorse, and partly on some other account, to save *Richard* his brother, reporting to the tyrant that he had destroyed them both. This report was believed, and generally spread abroad, so that the world have supposed that both King *Edward*'s sons were barbarously made away with. But Almighty God, that stopped the mouth of the lion, and saved little *Joash* from the tyrrany of *Athaliah*, when she mas-sacred the King's children, and did save *Isaac*, when *Abraham*'s hand was stretched to sacrifice him, preserved the second brother. I am that second brother, the very *Richard*, duke of *York*, now the lawful surviving

surviving heir male to the most noble *Edward* the Fourth my father, late King of *England*. As to the manner of my escape, it is not proper to speak thus publicly of it, as it may affect some who are living, and the memory of some who are dead. Let it suffice to say, that I had then a mother living,—a queen, one that expected daily an order from the tyrant for the murdering of her children. Thus escaping by God's mercy out of *London*, in my infancy, I was secretly conveyed across the seas, where, after a time, the person who had the care of me (from what motives God only knoweth) suddenly forsook me. Hence was I led to wander about, seeking my bread by my labour. Distracted between several passions, the fear of being known, lest the tyrant should seek my life afresh, and the mortification of living in the servile manner I did; I determined, however, to wait the tyrant's death, and then to put myself under my sister's protection, who was next heir to the crown. During this time it came to pass, that one *Henry Tudor*, son to *Edmund Tudor*, earl of *Richmond*,

entered

entered *England* from *France*, and by artful means obtained that crown which belongs to me. This *Henry*, my extreme and mortal enemy, soon as he had any knowledge of my being alive, devised every means in his power to procure my destruction ; for he hath not only given out that I am an impostor, giving me nick-names, and abusing the world ; but to prevent my entering *England*, hath offered large sums of money, to corrupt the princes and their ministers with whom I have been retained ; used every means to prevail on my servants to murder or poison me, and induced Sir *Robert Clifford* and others, who had espoused my cause, to abandon and forsake me ; so that it is but reason to say, he did not think me an impostor, having taken such pains to get rid of me. The truth, however, of my case being so clear and manifest, moved the most christian King *Charles*, and the Lady duchess dowager of *Burgundy*, my dear aunt, not only to acknowledge but affectionately assist me. But it seems above all that God, in order to unite the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in the strictest

amity, hath reserved the placing me on the imperial throne of *England*, to the arms and succours of your Grace. Nor indeed is it the first time that a king of *Scotland* has supported those who were deprived of the *English* crown. Your Grace having therefore given convincing proofs that you are in no respect inferior in noble qualities to your royal ancestors, I, as a distressed prince, was induced to throw myself under your royal protection, craving your assistance to recover my throne, and promising faithfully to conduct myself towards your Grace as your natural brother, and will, on the recovery of my inheritance, gratefully make you all the returns in my power."

After *Perkin* had thus declared himself, King *James* answered in a princely manner, that whoe'er he was, he should have no cause to repent throwing himself under his protection. Great pains were taken by many to persuade the King that *Perkin* was an impostor; but, whether being taken with his manner, or from the recommendation of the neighbouring princes, or desirous of waging war with *Henry*, he entertained him

as becoming the rank of *Richard*, duke of *York*, espoused his cause, and to confirm his opinion of *Perkin's* story, consented to his marrying his kinswoman, *Lady Catherine Gordon*, daughter to the Earl of *Hunily*, a young lady of great beauty and virtue.

Soon after this, the King of *Scots* in person, attended by *Perkin*, entered *Northumberland* with a great army. And the following proclamation, in the name of *Richard*, duke of *York*, was immediately published*.

“ It hath pleased God, who putteth down the mighty from their seat, exalteth the humble, and suffereth not the hopes of the just to perish in the end, to give us means, at length, to shew ourselves armed unto our lieges and people of *England*. But far be it from us to intend their hurt or damage, or to make war upon them, otherwise than to deliver ourself and them from tyranny and oppression. For our mortal enemy, *Henry Tudor*, a false usurper of the Crown of *England*, (which to us by natural

* This proclamation is in the Cotton Library.

and lineal right appertaineth) knowing in his own heart our undoubted right, (we being the very *Richard*, duke of *York*, younger son, and now surviving heir male of the noble and victorious *Edward*, the Fourth, late King of *England*) hath not only deprived us of our kingdom, but likewise by all foul and wicked means sought to betray us, and bereave us of our life. Yet if his tyranny only extended itself to our person, although our royal blood teacheth us to be sensible of injuries, it should be less to our grief. But this *Tudor*, who boasteth himself to have overthrown a tyrant, hath, ever since his first entrance into his usurped reign, put little in practice, but tyranny, and the feats thereof."

" For King *Richard*, our unnatural uncle, although desire of rule did blind him, yet in his other actions (like a true *Plantagenet*) was noble, and loved the honour of the realm, and the contentment and comfort of his nobles and people. But this our mortal enemy (agreeable to the meanness of his birth) hath trodden under foot the honour of this nation ; selling our best confederates
for

for money, and making merchandize of the blood, estates, and fortunes of our peers and subjects, by feigned wars and dishonourable peace, only to enrich his coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful misgovernment, and evil deportment at home. First, he hath (to fortify his false quarrel) caused divers nobles of his own realm (whom he held suspect, and stood in dread of) to be cruelly murdered, as our cousin Sir *William Stanley*, lord chamberlain ; Sir *Simon Mountfort*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, *William D'Aubigny*, *Humphrey Stafford*, and many others ; besides such as have dearly bought their lives with intolerable ransoms : some of which nobles are now in the sanctuary. Also, he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in prison, our right entirely well-beloved cousin, *Edward*, son and heir to our uncle, duke of *Clarence*, and others ; withholding from them their rightful inheritance, to the intent they should never be of might and power, to aid and assist us at our need, after the duty of their legiance. He also married by compulsion, certain of our sisters, and also the sisters of our said cousin, the earl of *War-*

wick, and divers other ladies of the royal blood, unto certain of his kinsmen and friends, of simple and low degree, and putting apart all well disposed nobles, he hath none in power and trust about his person but bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Rifeley, Turberville, Tiler, Cholmley, Empson, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, and such other caitiffs and villains of birth, which by subtile inventions, and pilling of the people, have been the principal founders, occasioners, and counsellors of the misrule and mischief now reigning in *England.*"

" We, remembering these premises, with the great and execrable offences daily committed, and done by our aforesaid great enemy and his adherents, in treating the liberties and franchises of our mother, the holy church, upon pretences of wicked and heathenish policy, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, man-slaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, and other unlawful impositions

tions and grievous exactions, with many other heinous effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole realm : shall by God's grace, and the help and assistance of the great lords of our blood, with the counsel of other said persons, see, that the commodities of our realm be employed to the most advantage of the same ; the intercourse of merchandize betwixt realm and realm, to be ministered and handled as shall be most to the common weal and prosperity of our subjects ; and all such dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearsed, to be foredone and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as our noble progenitors, Kings of *England*, have of old time been accustomed, to have the aid, succour, and help of their subjects and true liegemen.”

“ And farther, we do out of our grace and clemency, hereby as well publish and promise to all our subjects, remission and free pardon of all by-past offences whatsoever, against our person and estate, in adhering

to our said enemy, by whom (we know well) they have been misled, if they shall, within time convenient, submit themselves unto us. And for such as shall come with the foremost to assist our righteous quarrel, we shall make so far partakers of our princely favour and bounty, as shall be highly for the comfort of them and theirs, both during their life, and after their death. As also, we shall by all means which God shall put into our hands, demean ourselves to give royal contentment to all degrees and estates of our people, maintaining the liberties of holy church in their entire, preserving the honours, privileges, and the pre-eminentes of our nobles, from contempt or disparagement, according to the dignity of their blood. We shall also unyoke our people from all heavy burdens and endurances, and confirm our cities, boroughs, and towns in their charters and freedoms, with enlargement where it shall be deserved; and in all points give our subjects cause to think, that the blessed and debonnair government of our noble father, King *Edward* (in his last times) is in us revived."

" And

" And forasmuch as the putting to death, or taking alive of our said mortal enemy, may be a mean to stay much effusion of blood, which otherwise may ensue, if by compulsion or fair promises, he shall draw after him any number of our subjects to resist us, which we desire to avoid; (though we are certainly informed, that our said enemy is purposed and prepared to fly the land, having already made over great masses of the treasure of our crown, the better to support him in foreign parts) we do hereby declare, that whoever shall take or distress our said enemy, (though the party be of never so mean a condition) he shall be by us rewarded with a thousand pounds in money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and a hundred marks by the year of inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good people, for the destruction of such a tyrant."

" Lastly, we do all men to wit, and herein we take also God to witness, that whereas God hath moved the heart of our dearest cousin, the King of *Scotland*, to aid and assist us in person in this our righteous quarrel;

quarrel ; it is altogether without any pact or promise, or so much as demand of any thing that may prejudice our crown or subjects ; but contrariwise, with promise on our said Cousin's part, that whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength to get the upper hand of our enemy (which we hope will be very suddenly) he will forthwith peaceably return into his own kingdom ; contenting himself only with the glory of so honourable an enterprize, and our true and faithful love and amity, which we shall ever (by the grace of Almighty God) so order, as shall be to the great comfort of both kingdoms."

This proclamation was not very well received by the people, nor was he the more welcome for bringing the King of *Scots* with him ; who, not finding him joined by any person of consequence, nor seeing the people rise any where in his favour, employed his army in laying waste the county of *Northumberland*, which he destroyed by fire and sword. Intelligence being brought him that forces were on the march against him, and unwilling his men should be found laden with

with spoils, he returned into *Scotland*. It is said that *Perkin*, in a princely manner, remonstrated with the King of *Scots* on his laying waste the country, and begged he would desist, and not carry on the war in that way; for that no crown was so valuable to him, as to make him purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country. The King replied, half in jest and half in earnest, that he doubted whether the country he was so careful to save belonged to him; and that he was not ambitious of being a good *Steward* for his enemy, by saving the country to his use.

By this time, being the eleventh year of *Henry's* reign, the interruption of the trade between the *English* and the *Flemish* began to be very much felt, so that both nations used every means to persuade their sovereigns to open the intercourse again, and in this the times favoured them. For the Archduke and his council began to see that *Perkin* would not be able to do anything; and *Henry*, from the late attempts in *Kent* and *Northumberland*, held him in so little dread, as not even to advise with his council on the subject.

subject. He was most concerned at the stagnation of trade, which threatened him with empty coffers. However, he waited till he was applied to. Commissioners met at *London* to treat. On the King's part were bishop *Fox*, lord privy seal; viscount *Wells*; *Kendal*, prior of Saint John's; *Warham*, master of the Rolls; *Urfwick* and *Riseley*: on the part of the Arch-duke were admiral lord *Bevers*; lord *Verunsel*, president of *Flanders*, and others. These concluded a perfect treaty both of amity and intercourse, between the King and the Arch-duke; and is that treaty, which, the *Flemings* at this day call *intervetus magnus*, because it was more complete than the preceding treaties of the third and fourth of the King; but chiefly to distinguish it from the treaty that followed in the one and twentieth year of his reign, which they call *intervetus malus*. In this treaty was an express article against the reception of the rebels, of either prince, by the other, purporting, that if any such rebel, should be demanded by the prince he opposed, of the prince in alliance, that such prince should immediately command the rebel, by proclamation, to quit his country
in

in fifteen days, on pain of standing proscribed, and out of protection. *Perkin*, however, was not named, nor, perhaps attended to, being no rebel. But his wings were thus clipped of his *English* adherents ; and it was expressly mentioned in the treaty, that this clause should extend to the territories of the duchess dowager of *Burgundy*. The intercourse thus restored—the *English* merchants returned to their mansion at *Antwerp*, where they were received with procession and joy.

The winter following, *Henry* called again his Parliament, to whom, in exaggerated terms, he complained of the malice and predatory war of the King of *Scotland*; that he, being in amity with him and no ways provoked, should act as he had done, and that when he perceived it was out of his power to do him (*Henry*) any hurt, he should turn his arms upon a naked and defenceless people, to plunder only and lay waste, contrary to the laws both of war and peace, and declaring that he could neither with honour, nor with the safety of his people, to whom he owed protection, suffer such wrongs to pass unrevenged. The parliament

ment understood him well, and granted him a subsidy limited to 120,000*l.* besides two fifteenths. In this Parliament there were no laws passed of any consequence, except one at the suit of the merchant-adventurers of *England*, against those of *London*, for monopolizing and exacting upon the trade.

No sooner began the subsidy to be levied in *Cornwall*, but the people there began to murmur. Indeed it was always *Henry's* misfortune to be obliged to fight for his money. The *Cornish* men were a stout hardy race of people, and from being accustomed to live much under ground in the tin-mines, were capable of going through any difficulties. They conceived it hard, that for a little inroad made by the *Scots*, they should be called upon to pay taxes they could not afford, and, therefore, determined, as they earned their money by the sweat of their brows, no man should take it from them. The people once disposed to rise, never want ring-leaders : two stood forth upon this occasion, *Michael Joseph*, a blacksmith or farrier of *Bodmin*, a vain talkative fellow ; and one *Thomas Flammock*, a lawyer, who persuaded the people that he could
rebel

rebel, and oppose this tax without even breaking the peace. He made the people believe, that no subsidies could be granted nor levied for any wars in *Scotland*. The law having provided other resources on such occasions; especially when such wars were entered into, merely to plunder and pillage the country. That it was the duty of every *Englishman*, to oppose such encroachments; yet, he was not for violent proceedings, but recommended them to petition the King warmly against the measure, and to request him to punish those who advised him to it. They alluded to arch-bishop *Morton*, and Sir *Reginald Bray*, whom, the King, in this business, made the ostensible men.

These two, *Flamrock*, and the blacksmith, offered to lead the *Cornish* men, till other leaders could be found; declaring they were ready to stand forth in every danger, and sacrifice their lives in the cause, not doubting, but in a very little time, other counties would rise and join them; for that the opposition was a just one, and tended ultimately to the service of the King. By such instigations, the people were led to arm themselves

themselves in the best manner they could, with bows, arrows and bills, and other country weapons, and marched out of *Cornwall*, through *Devonshire*, to *Taunton*, in *Somersetshire*, with these men at their head; but without doing any mischief as they passed along. At *Taunton*, in their rage, they killed an officious commissioner for the subsidy, whom they called the provost of *Perin*. Thence they marched to *Wells*, where lord *Audley* (who before had been applied to) a nobleman of an ancient family, popular, but turbulent, joined them and was accepted with great shouts of joy, as their general. Lord *Audley* led them on from *Wells*, to *Salisbury*, and from *Salisbury*, to *Winchester*. Thence the foolish people, who in effect led their leaders, determined to march into *Kent*, from an opinion that the *Kentish* men would join them, though that county had but lately shewn their loyalty and attachment to the King. These infatuated people, however, had heard *Flamrock* say, that *Kent* was never conquered, and that they were the freest people in *England*, and under this idea, as they conceived their cause to be the cause of liberty, they expected great

great matters from them. But when they came into *Kent*, they found the country so well settled, by the King's late kind usage of them, and by the credit and power of the earl of *Kent*, lord *Abergavenny*, and lord *Cobham*; that neither gentlemen, nor yeomen came in to their aid. At this, many of the *Cornish* men were discouraged and left the army secretly, but the sturdier stood their ground, and finding they had marched from west to east, without interruption, acquired fresh resolution; they therefore pursued their way, and encamped upon *Blackheath*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*, threatening either to give the King battle or take possession of *London*.

To return, *Henry*, when first he heard of this commotion in *Cornwall*, was more troubled for the concurrence of other dangers that hung over him, than for the cause of the insurrection: for he dreaded lest a *Scotch* war, a *Cornish* rebellion, and *Perkin's* conspiracies should take place all at once: he was not, however, ill-provided; for as soon as the parliament broke up, the King raised a powerful army to oppose the *Scots*. King *James* indeed had made great

preparations for a new attack in *England*; but *Henry's* forces were ready to march under the command of *D'Aubigney*, lord chamberlain. As soon, however, as *Henry* understood the *Cornish* men were up in arms, he stopped the march of these forces, dispatching the earl of *Surry* with a detachment into the north, for the defence of those parts, in case the *Scots* should stir. His conduct towards the rebels was different now, to what it used to be in similar situations. He was once eager to be at them; but as he found they did not plunder the country through which they passed, that their forces neither increased nor gained strength, and that as the farther distant they were from their own country, the less succour they were likely to receive, and the less probability there was of their retreating, as also the more harrassed and fatigued they would be; he suffered them to proceed, till they reached the neighbourhood of *London*.

Having now a very powerful army about him, he divided them into three parts. The first was commanded by the earl of *Oxford*, assisted by the earls of *Essex* and *Suffolk*. These noblemen were appointed with several

ral battalions of horse and foot, and some artillery, to surround the camp below the hill, and beset every part, except that which lay towards *London*: the second division (which were those that were to be most in action, and on which he most relied for the fortune of the day) he gave the command of, to the lord chamberlain, who was to make his attack in front, on that side towards *London*; the third he retained about himself, to be ready as a *corps de reserve*, and to secure the city. For this purpose, he encamped in person, in *St. George's-fields*; placing himself between the city and the rebels. The city of *London*, on the rebels encamping at *Black-heath*, was at first in great fear and confusion, running to and fro, dreading that, if they ever entered it, they would proceed to plunder. But *Tate*, the lord-mayor, and *Shaw* and *Haddon*, the two sheriffs, acted their parts well, in arming and regulating the people; and the King sent them some officers of experience, to assist them. But when they learned the insurgents must be victors in three engagements before they could approach the city, and that the King had interposed his own person, between the

rebels and them, and that the plan was to hem them in, having no doubt of overcoming them ; they lost all fear, and grew quiet and composed. Indeed, they placed great confidence in the three commanders, *Oxford*, *Essex*, and *D'Aubigney*. *Jasper*, duke of *Bedford*, whom the King used to employ, was then ill, and died soon after.

On Saturday, June 22d. 1497, the battle was fought. The King had given out, in order to deceive and confuse the rebels, that he meant to attack them on the *Monday* following ; he, therefore, took them by surprise. The Lords who were appointed to encircle the hill, did it effectually some days before. In the afternoon, therefore, towards the decline of the day, to keep up the opinion that the attack would not then be made, the lord *D'Aubigney* marched on towards them, first beating some of their troops from *Deptford* bridge, where they made no small resistance. However, their numbers being small, they were soon driven back, and fled up the hill to their main army.—The Earl followed them, and as there were no forces placed upon the first high ground, to second the troops below,

low, that kept the bridge; but the whole body of their forces being far within the heath, the Earl mounted the hill and recovered the plain without resistance. Lord *D'Aubigney* charged them with such fury that he had near failed in his design, and lost the success of the day; for, by a rash impetuosity, he was taken prisoner, but immediately rescued and delivered. The rebels maintained the fight for a small time, and shewed no want of courage, but being ill-armed, and ill-commanded, without horse, and without artillery, they were without much difficulty cut to pieces and put to flight. Their three leaders, lord *Audley*, the *Blacksmith*, and *Flammock*, men not very courageous, suffered themselves to be taken alive. On the part of the rebels, whose numbers it is said amounted to 16,000, about 2000 were slain; the rest were all made prisoners, the hill being compassed with the King's forces. Of the royalists about 300 were killed, most of them shot with arrows, the length of a taylor's yard:—such powerful bowmen were the *Cornish* men in those days.

The victory thus obtained, the King created divers Knight-bannerets, as well on *Black-heath* as in *St. George's Fields*. The property of the prisoners he gave to their captors, to take them either in kind or compound for them. Lord *Audley* was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill*, in a paper coat, painted with his own arms; the arms reversed, the coat torn, and then beheaded. *Flammock* and the *Blacksmith* were hanged drawn and quartered at *Tyburn*. The *Blacksmith* seemed to take pleasure, as he was drawn upon the hurdle, that he should be talked of in future times. It was designed to have sent *Flammock* and the *Blacksmith* down to *Cornwal*, to have them there executed; but, as the country was still in a ferment, it was thought best not to do it. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and had leave to take out their pardons under the Great Seal, at their pleasure.

It may be matter of wonder, that *Henry*, in the suppression of this rebellion, should put only three persons to death; when, in the *Kentish* commotion, where a handful of men only were concerned, he should execute one hundred and fifty; but many reasons

reasons may be given for it. Here, there were upwards of 2000 slain in the field, whereas few persons fell on the coast of Kent; or possibly *Henry* might not chuse to be severe in a popular cause, or perhaps he might take into consideration the harmless behaviour of these men that came from the West of *England* to the East, without doing much mischief: or, lastly, he might make a great difference between people who rebelled through wantonness, and others that rebelled through want.

After the *Cornish* men were defeated; there came from *Calais* an honourable embassage from the *French* King, relative to the prolongation of the time for payment of money and some other particulars of the frontiers: it was an embassage calculated to conciliate matters between the two crowns; but nothing was said to the derogation of the King's late treaty with the *Italians*.

During the march of the *Cornish* men towards *London*, the King of *Scotland*, well acquainted with all that passed, and convinced he could not steer clear of a war with *England*, whenever this insurrection

was suppressed, neglected not this opportunity; but, under an idea that *Henry* had his hands full, entered *England* again with an army, and in person, with part of his forces, besieged the castle of *Norham*; sending the rest to ravage the country. But, *Fox*, bishop of *Durham*, a wise man, apprehensive of this, had caused his castle to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kinds of ammunition; he had manned it likewise with a great number of stout soldiers, more than proportionable to the size of the place, expecting rather a sharp assault than a long siege. And for the country about him, he directed the people to remove their cattle and goods into such places as were not easy of approach; and sent an express to the earl of *Surry*, who was in *Yorkshire*, not far off, to come speedily to their succour. So that the King of *Scotland* was foiled in his expectations; and understanding that the earl of *Surry* was advancing towards him with great forces, he returned back into *Scotland*. The Earl, finding the castle freed and the enemy gone, pursued them with forced marches into *Scotland*, in hopes of overtaking

taking them, and giving them battle; but not being able to effect this, he sat down before the castle of *Aton*, esteemed one of the strongest places between *Berwick* and *Edinburgh*, which in a very little time he took. Soon after, the King of *Scotland*, retiring further within his own country; and the weather being extremely bad, the Earl returned into *England*. So, that in fact, these expeditions ended only in a castle distressed, and a castle taken; not at all adequate to the power of the forces employed, the greatness of the contest, or the expectations of the parties.

Amid these troubles, arrived on an embassage in *England*, from *Spain*, Peter *Hialas*, or *Elias*: to whom we owe the good fortune we enjoy at this day; for his embassage brought about a truce between *England* and *Scotland*. This truce drew on a peace; the peace, the marriage of *James* of *Scotland*, with *Henry's* daughter; and this marriage, the union of the two kingdoms. *Hialas* was a man of great wisdom and learning, and was sent from *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, to treat with *Henry*, of a marriage between *Catherine*, their

their second daughter, and prince *Aribur*. This treaty was by him almost brought to perfection, but it so happened, that upon some conference *Hialas* had with *Henry*, respecting this business, the King, who had a peculiar method of winning over the ambassadors of foreign princes, to his interest, so as to employ them often in his own service, entered into conversation with him respecting the differences he had with *Scotland*; for as he could not profit by a *Scotch* war, he was always averse to one. *Henry*, indeed, had many friends in the council of *Scotland*, that would advise their King to peace, but he was too proud to make the first overture. *Hialas*, however, having advised the measure, and having the consent of his court to undertake it, went to *Scotland* with *Henry's* acquiescence, to treat of a peace between the two crowns. *Hialas* after having brought King *James* to listen to him, wrote to *Henry*, desiring him to send a proper person to treat of conditions; assuring him that a peace might be brought about, without much difficulty. Accordingly bishop *Fox*, who was then at his castle at *Norham*,

was

was appointed to confer with *Hialas*, and were then directed to meet the commissioners deputed by the *Scotch King*, and treat with them. The commissioners on both sides met, but after much debate on the articles and conditions, could come to no conclusion. The chief impediment was a demand of *Henry* to have *Perkins* delivered up to him, as a reproach to all Kings, and a person not protected by the law of nations; which the King of *Scotland* peremptorily refused to do, alledging, that he (for his part) was no competent judge of *Perkin's* title; but that as he had received him as a suppliant, protected him as a person who fled to him for refuge; married him to his kinswoman, and aided him with his arms on the belief that he was a prince; he could not now, consistent with his honour, put a kind of lie on all he had said and done before, by delivering him up to his enemies. The bishop, to whose discretion matters were left, (and who, though he had received *Henry's* instructions to carry things seemingly with a high hand, yet was by no means to break off on ill-terms) having failed in obtaining the delivery of *Perkin*, proceeded

proceeded, according to his further instructions, to urge an interview between the two Kings, at *Newcastle*. But, the King of *Scotland's* answer was, on this being reported to him, that he meant to treat for a peace, and not go a begging for it. The bishop further demanded restitution of the spoils taken by the *Scots*, or damages for the same ; but the *Scotch* commissioners reply was, that such matters were as water spilt on the ground, which could not be recovered ; and, that the people of *England* were better able to bear the loss, than their master was to repair it. In the end, as a peace could not be concluded on, they agreed upon a truce for some months following.

The King of *Scotland*, though he would not formally retract his opinion of *Perkin*, having engaged himself so far ; yet, from a variety of reasons, began to suspect him as a counterfeit. He therefore sent to him, and reminded him personally of the benefits and favours he had done him, by becoming his ally, and by provoking a powerful monarch, by an offensive war in his cause, for two years together ; nay, that he

he had given up an honourable peace proposed to him, by refusing to deliver him up; and that to keep his promise with him, he had given great offence both to his nobility and people, and therefore required him to withdraw himself from *Scotland*, and not reckon upon his aid or assistance any longer, telling him at the same time, that he could not but say the *English* had forsaken him before the *Scotch*, for that on two several trials, none had declared themselves in his favour. Nevertheless, continued the King, I will make good my promise to you, on your first coming here, that you shall have no cause to repent throwing yourself into my hands; for I will not give you up, but furnish you with means and shipping to go where you please. *Perkin*, not descending at all from his stage-like greatness, answered the King in few words, that he saw his time was not yet come; and that whatever his fortunes were, he should both think and speak honourably of the King. Taking his leave, he with his lady and such followers as would not quit him, sailed over into *Ireland*, not thinking proper to return to *Flanders*, on account

account of the treaty concluded with the Arch-duke the year before.

It was now the twelfth year of *Henry's* reign. And a little before this time Pope *Alexander*, (who loved those princes best that were farthest off, and with whom he had least to do) in gratitude for the King's late entrance into a league for the defence of *Italy*, rewarded him with a consecrated sword, and cap of maintenance, which he sent him by his Nuncio. Pope *Innocent* had done the same, but it was not so well received as this was, for the King appointed the Mayor and Aldermen to meet the Pope's orator at *London Bridge*; and all the streets between the bridge foot and *St. Paul's*, (where the King then lay) were lined with the citizens standing in their liveries. The next morning being *Allhalows* day, the King, attended by many of the bishops, nobility, and principal courtiers, went in procession to *St. Paul's*, and the cap and sword were borne before him. After the procession, the King himself remained seated in the quire, and the Lord Arch-bishop from the steps, made a long oration, setting forth the greatness and eminency

eminency of that honour, which the Pope, in these ornaments, and ensigns of benediction, had done his Grace; and how rarely, and upon what high deserts such honours used to be bestowed: reciting the King's principal acts and merits, which entitled him to this mark of distinction from his Holiness.

All this time, the *Cornish* rebellion, of which we have spoken, seemed to have no relation to *Perkin*, except, indeed, that his proclamation, promising to lay down exactions and payments, led the people of that country to think well of him. The King's lenity had rather emboldened them, than reclaimed them; for many, having purchased their pardon for a shilling or two, made no scruple of telling their neighbours, and countrymen; that the King did well to pardon them, knowing that he should leave but few subjects in *England*, if he hanged all that were of their way of thinking. Thus did they begin to stir up fresh commotions; and some of the most artful, hearing of *Perkin*'s being in *Ireland*, sent to him, and told him that if

if he would come over to them, they would serve him.

When *Perkin* heard this, he took fresh courage, and advised with his council upon the measure. These were chiefly three, *Herne*, a mercer, that had flown for debt: *Skelton* a taylor, and *Astley*, a scrivenier: for secretary *Friar* was gone. These gave him to understand, that he was much mistaken in his policy, both when he went into *Kent*, and into *Scotland*; the one being a place so near *London*, and under the King's nose; and the other a nation so disgusted with the *English*, that had they loved him never so well, they would not have taken his part in that company. But had he been so happy as to have landed in *Cornwall*, at first, when the people began to take arms there, he had been crowned at *Westminster* before this time. For Kings, (as he had now experienced) would sell poor princes for shoes. The people, said they, were what he could only rely on, and therefore they advised him to sail over into *Cornwall* with all possible speed; which he accordingly did, having with him four small ships, with about six score or seven score fighting

fighting men. He arrived at *Whitsand Bay*, in *September*, and immediately marched to *Bodmin*, the Blacksmith's town ; where he was joined by about 3000 of the common people. There he published a new proclamation, containing a variety of fair promises, and humouring the people with invectives against the King, and his government. And, as it is with smoke which never loses itself till at the highest, he now, before his end, raised his style, calling himself no longer *Richard*, duke of *York*, but, *Richard* the fourth, King of *England*. His council advised him by all means, to make himself master of some good walled town, not only to gratify his followers with spoils, but by way of securing a retreat in case fortune should be unpropitious to him, or he should have an unlucky chance in the field. With this determination, they took courage, marched on and besieged the city of *Exeter*, the principal town for strength and wealth, in that part of the kingdom.

When they reached *Exeter*, they at first did not proceed to any violence, but made continual shouts and outcries to alarm the

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inhabitants; they frequently called to them from under the walls, urging them to join them, and be of their party; assuring them, that if they took part with King *Richard*, and was the first town that should acknowledge him, he would make *Exeter* another *London*: but they had not understanding enough to send proper persons to treat with them. The citizens, on their parts, showed themselves brave and loyal subjects; neither were there any tumults or divisions among them, but all prepared themselves for a valiant defence. They saw the rebels were not so numerous or powerful, that they need fear them ; and they trusted, that if their numbers encreased, they should receive succours from the King. However, at the worst, they thought it better to defend themselves as long as they could, than submit to the mercy of a hungry and disorderly people. Having, therefore, made every necessary preparation for a vigorous defence, they let down several messengers privately with cords from the walls, trusting that some one or other of them would escape, to acquaint the King with their situation, and request his aid,

aid. *Perkin* determined now to use all possible means to assault the town before any succours could arrive, and having raised many scaling ladders in different places, made at the same time an attempt to force one of the gates: but having no artillery nor engines, and finding that he could do no good with iron bars, crows, and logs of timber, had no alternative but to set the gate on fire. This he did, but the people within, before the gate was quite consumed, blocked up the gate-way with faggots and other fuel, which they also set fire to, and thus repulsed fire by fire. In the mean time they threw up ramparts of earth, making deep trenches to serve instead of wall and gates. The rebels had such bad success with their scaling ladders, that they were driven from the walls with the loss of two hundred men.

Henry, when he heard of *Perkin's* siege of *Exeter*, made light of it, and said to those about him, that the king of Rake-hells was landed in the West, and that he hoped now he should have the honour to see him, which he never yet could do. It was very evident to those about the King, that he was

much pleased with the news of *Perkin's* being on *English* ground, where he could have no retreat by land, and where he should soon be master of his person. In order to stimulate the people, he gave out, that those who should now stand forth in his cause, would be as well thought of by him, and their services as well rewarded, as if they had taken part with him in the early part of his troubles. On this great numbers flocked to him. He sent the Lord Chamberlain, Lord *Brook*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with a number of forces in the utmost speed to the relief of *Exeter*, and gave the people to understand that he should follow in person with a royal army. The earl of *Devonshire* and his son, the *Carews* and the *Fulfordes*, and other principal persons of *Devonshire* came forth as volunteers, and hasted with troops they had raised, to be the first to relieve the town, before the King's succours arrived. The duke of *Buckingham* likewise, with many brave gentlemen armed themselves, signifying to the King their readiness, and desiring to know his pleasure; so that according to the proverb, “in the coming down, every saint did help.”

Perkin

Perkin, hearing of these great preparations against him, raised his siege, and marched to Taunton; with a view, if things turned out contrary to his expectation, to take the shelter of a sanctuary: though the *Cornish* men who were become hardened, like metal often fired and quenched, that will sooner break than bend, swore and vowed not to leave him, but to spill their last blood in his service. Having quitted Exeter, he was six or seven thousand strong at Taunton; therefore he laid aside all fear, and seemed all the day diligent in preparing for a battle: however about midnight he fled with three-score horse to Bewley in the new forest, and there he and many of his followers, registered themselves sanctuary men; thus did he desert his *Cornish* men, but under the pretence of releasing them from their vows, and having too much compassion to be present, when his subjects blood should be spilt. Henry, as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, dispatched 500 horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he could either reach the sea coast, or that little island called a Sanctuary; but they arrived too late for the latter. All they could do therefore, was to

beset the sanctuary, and guard it well, till the King's pleasure was further known. As for the rest of the rebels, losing their leader, they submitted themselves to the King's mercy, who drawing blood only as physicians do, rather to save life than destroy it, and never being over cruel when secure; now seeing his danger past, pardoned the whole, except some few desperate persons whom he reserved for execution, in order to display his mercy better towards the remainder. He dispatched some horse with all speed to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, where Lady Catherine Gordon was left by her husband, whom in the worst of fortunes she affectionately loved, adding the virtues of a good wife to those of her sex. The King was the more eager to have her in possession, not knowing whether she might not be with child, as in such case, the matter would not have ended in the person of Perkin. When she was brought to Henry, he received her not only with compassion, but affection, and giving her all the comfort he could, he sent her to his Queen to remain with her, giving her a very honourable allowance for her support, which she enjoyed

enjoyed both during the King's life, and many years after. She was distinguished afterwards by the name of the *White Rose.*

Henry pursued his journey to *Exeter*, where he made a public entry, giving the citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the sword from his side, he presented it to the Mayor, and commanded that it should ever after be carried before him. There also he ordered some of the ring-leaders of the *Cornish* men to be executed, as a sacrifice to those whom they had put in fear of their lives. At *Exeter* the King took the opinion of his council, whether he should offer *Perkin* his life, on condition that he quitted the sanctuary, and voluntarily submitted himself. The council were divided in opinion, some advised the King to take him out of sanctuary by force, and put him to death, as in a case of necessity which dispenses with consecrated places and things; not doubting but the King would find the Pope ready to ratify the act, either by declaration or indulgence. Others were of opinion (since all danger was now over, and no further hurt could be done)

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that his death was not worth exposing the King to animosity and revenge. Others again recommended, that, as it was not possible for the King ever to satisfy the world, with respect to the impostor, or to get at the bottom of the conspiracy, otherwise than by promise of life and pardon, he should get *Perkin* into his hands. They all however, pitied the King's case, and seemed highly offended that a prince of his high wisdom and virtue, should have been so long and so often troubled with idols, as he had been. But *Henry* said, that it was the lot of the Almighty to be vexed with idols, and of course it ought to be no trouble either to him or his friends: for himself, indeed, he despised them; but it was a sorrow to him, to think his people had been so harrassed and perplexed. However, being of opinion that *Perkin* should not suffer death, he sent some persons to treat with him. *Perkin* finding himself a prisoner, and destitute of all hopes, having tried princes and people, great and small, to no purpose, gladly accepted of the conditions offered him. *Henry* did not omit to appoint commissioners while at *Exeter*, among whom

Lord

Lord *D'Arcy* was one, to find out all those who had any property, who were any way concerned with *Perkin* and the *Cornish* men, either in the field or in their flight.

These commissioners proceeded with such strictness and severity, seizing on all property where there was the least colour for doing it, that the King's mercy in sparing the lives of offenders, was nearly eclipsed. *Perkin* was brought to court, but not into the King's presence, though *Henry* to satisfy his curiosity saw him sometimes from a window, or in a passage. He was in all appearance at liberty, but guarded with all possible care, and obliged to follow the King to *London*. All the way he went, the people flocked round him; some mocking, some wondering, some cursing, others prying into his countenance and gestures, that they might have something to talk of; so that the little false honour and respect he had so long enjoyed, was now plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he reached *London*, the King treated the city with a sight of him; for he was conveyed leisurely on horse-back (but not ignominiously) through *Cheapside* and *Cornhill*

to

to the Tower ; and from thence back again to *Westminster*, amidst the din of a thousand taunts and reproaches. To add to the show, at a little distance from *Perkin*, followed a bosom counsellor of his, one that had been serjeant-farrier to the King. This fellow, when *Perkin* took sanctuary, choosing rather to take up a holy habit than a holy place, clad himself like a hermit, and in that garb wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken. But this man was bound hand and foot upon the horse, and came not back with *Perkin*, but was left at the Tower, and in a few days after executed. Soon after this, as *Perkin* could now tell better what he was, he was diligently examined, and after his confession was taken, an extract was made of such parts of it, as were thought fit to be published, and it was printed and dispersed abroad, wherein indeed the King did himself no good ; for as there was a laboured tale of particulars of *Perkin's* father and mother, and grand-father and grand-mother, uncles and cousins, by names and sur-names, and from what places he travelled up and down, so there was little or nothing to the purpose of aught that concerned

cerned his designs, or any practices that had been held with him; nor was the duchess of *Burgundy* (whom all the world knew was the chief spring of the whole) so much as named or alluded to; so that the public missing what they looked for, searched for they knew not what, and were more in doubt then before. But *Henry* chose rather not to satisfy the people, than kindle the flame afresh. At that time it did not appear by any new examinations or commitments, that any other person of quality was discovered or impeached, though the King's closeness made such a thing suspected.

About this time a great fire in the night began at the King's Palace at *Shene*, whereby a great part of the building was consumed with the furniture. This occasioned the King to erect in its room that fine pile of building now standing at *Richmond*.

And a little before this, occurred a memorable circumstance: one *Sebastian Gabato*, a *Venetian*, living at *Bristol*, a man well versed in navigation, observing the success, and emulating, perhaps the enterprize of *Christopher*

topher Columbus in his fortunate discovery to the S. W. about six years before ; conceived that lands might also be discovered towards the N. W. There had been indeed, before that time, a discovery of some lands which were taken to be islands, and were indeed, the continent of *America*, towards the N. W. *Gabato* prevailed upon the King to man and victual a ship for him at *Bristol*, under the idea of his being able to find out an inhabited island, rich in every natural production. Some *London* merchants fitted out three ships, loaded them with such wares as were fit commerce for an uncivilized people, and accompanied him. He sailed very far Westwards, with a quarter of the North on the North side of *Tierra de Labrador*, till he came to the latitude of 67 degrees and a half, and found the seas still open. It is certain that *Henry* might have been in possession of the *West Indies*, for *Columbus* refused by the king of *Portugal*, commissioned his brother to treat with *Henry* for this discovery; but it so happened, that in his passage here, he was taken by pirates, which detained him so long, that before he could settle the matter for his brother, the business

was

was done. The *West Indies* were discovered under the patronage and protection of the crown of *Castile*. But this so spurred on *Henry*, that not only in this voyage, but again in the 16th year of his reign, and likewise in the 18th, he granted new commissions for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.

In the 14th year of *Henry's* reign, there happened a trifling accident, that by God's wonderful providence was attended with great and happy effects. During the truce with *Scotland*, certain young gentlemen from that country, came to *Norham* to pass some time with some *English* friends; having little to do, they frequently walked out, and would stand viewing the castle. Some of the garrison taking notice of this, took them for spies and quarrelled with them: from high words they proceeded to blows, and many were wounded on both sides. The *Scotchmen* being strangers in the town, came off the worst; some few were killed, and the rest returned to *Scotland*. This matter being complained of, and often debated before the wardens of the marches on both sides, and no redress made; the King

of

of *Scotland* took the cause up, and in much anger dispatched a herald to *Henry* to protest, that if atonement was not made, according to the terms of the truce, he denounced war. *Henry*, inclined to peace, replied that what had been done, was wholly against his will, and without his knowledge; that if the soldiers in garrison had been in fault, he would take care they should be punished, being anxious to preserve the truce in every point. This answer, however, appeared to the king of *Scotland* little else than an evasion, and therefore rather enraged him than satisfied him, bishop *Fox* understanding from *Henry* that the king of *Scotland* was still discontented and impatient, and concerned to think the breaking of the truce should be owing to any men under his command, sent many humble and deprecatory letters to the *Scotch* king to appease him. Upon which *James*, a little softened by these letters, wrote back to the bishop, saying, that though his letters reconciled matters, yet he should not be thoroughly satisfied, unless he could see him and thereby have an opportunity not only of adjusting the present differences,

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but settling other matters that concerned the good of both kingdoms. The Bishop having advised with *Henry*, went to *Scotland* and gave *James* the meeting at *Melross*, an abbey belonging to the *Cistercians*, where the King then resided. *James* rated the Bishop highly for the offence committed by his men, at *Norham* castle; but the Bishop by his answers so softened the King, then attended by his Council, that the breach was made up. After this *James* took the Bishop apart and observed to him that these temporary truces and peaces, were soon made and soon broken; that he wished for a more binding tie of friendship with the king of *England*; in short, that if *Henry* would give him his eldest daughter the Lady *Margaret* in marriage, it would be a knot indissoluble: that he was sensible of the interest and authority the bishop deservedly had with his master, and he doubted not, but that if he would take the matter properly up, he should succeed in his wishes. The Bishop replyed that he thought himself rather happy than worthy, to be the instrument in such a matter, but that he would use his best endeavours. On the Bishop's return

return to *Henry*, and giving an account of what had passed, he found the King so well disposed to it, that he advised him first to conclude a peace, and let that peace be followed by the marriage. A peace was of course the consequence ; it was concluded and made publick a little before *Christmas* in the 14th year of *Henry's* reign, and was to continue during the lives of both Kings, and the survivor, and one year afterwards. In this peace was an article to this effect, that no *Englishman* should enter *Scotland*, nor *Scotchman*, *England*, without letters commendatory from the kings of either nation. This carried rather a hostile appearance, but it was done to lock in the borderers

The King had this year a third son born, who was christened *Edmund*, but he died soon after. Much about the same time arrived the news of the death of *Charles*, the *French* king.

Not long after, *Perkin* began again to be troublesome, for deceiving his keepers, he took to his heels, and made to the sea coast ; but such diligent pursuit and search was made after him, that he was obliged to re-

turn

turn back, and take shelter in *Bethlehem-house* called *Sheen* priory, which had the privilege of sanctuary, and put himself under the protection of the prior of that monastery. The prior was thought a holy man, and was much revered. He waited on the King, and petitioned him for the life of *Perkin* only, leaving him otherwise at the King's discretion. Many about *Henry* were more eager now than ever to have him brought forth and hanged; but the King who had in himself a great deal of dignity, and could not hate one whom he despised, bid them take him forth and set the knave in the stocks. Promising the Prior, therefore, to spare his life, he was delivered up; and within two or three days after, was fettered and set in the stocks for a whole day, on a scaffold erected in the palace-court at *Westminster*. The next day he was put in the stocks at the crofs in *Cheapside*, and at both places he read his confession, which we mentioned before. From *Cheapside* he was conveyed to the Tower. It was generally believed that *Perkin* was betrayed, and that this escape was not without the King's privity, who had him as it were, the whole

time in a string, and who did this to have some excuse for putting him to death ; but this is not probable, for had this been the case, those who watched him in his flight might have kept him from getting into sanctuary.

It was ordained, however, that this ivy winding round a *Plantagenet*, should destroy the tree; for *Perkin*, after he had been sometime in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers, servants to Sir *John Digby*, the lieutenant; namely, *Srangeways*, *Blewit*, *Aftwood*, and *Long Roger*. He took some pains to corrupt these varlets with promises; but, conscious that his own situation was become too contemptible to feed men with hopes, (and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none to give), he contrived a very horrid plot: this was to draw into his schemes, *Edward Plantagenet*, earl of *Warwick*, then a prisoner in the Tower, whom a long imprisonment, and continual fear of being put to death, had made so weary of life, that he would listen to any thing that was likely to favour his escape. He conceived that Sir *John Digby's* servants would

would look up to this prince, though not to himself. Having therefore, by repeated messages, obtained the Earl's consent, it was agreed that these four rascals should murder their master, the lieutenant, secretly in the night, take from him such money and portable things of value as they could find, get the keys of the Tower, and set *Perkin* and the Earl at liberty. But this conspiracy was discovered before it could be put into execution. And here again the King was charged with entrapping the earl of *Warwick*, through the means of *Perkin*. Indeed at the very instant whilst this conspiracy was working, it was unfortunate for the parties, that there should break forth a counterfeit earl of *Warwick*, one *Ralph Wilford*, a shoe-maker's son, a young man taught and set on by an *Augustan* friar, called *Patrick*: these both came from *Suffolk*, into *Kent*, and gave out, that *Wilford* was the true earl of *Warwick*; nay, the friar, finding the people ready to believe, boldly declared it from the pulpit, and incited them to come in to his aid. They were both, however, presently apprehended; *Wilford* was hanged, and the friar condemned.

ed to perpetual imprisonment. This affair happening so opportunely to shew the danger the King was in from the earl of *Warwick*, and to give a colour to *Henry's* severity that followed; together with the madness of the friar, laying open a treason before things had gotten strength; and the saving of his life, which was indeed only a privilege of his order: these circumstances made it generally said, that it was all a scheme of the King's. However, *Perkin*, upon this, (it being the third time of his offending) was by commissioners of *oyer* and *terminer* arraigned at *Westminster*, for divers treasons committed within the realm, condemned, and in a few days after, executed at *Tyburn*, where he again read his confession, and in his last moments affirmed it to be true.

Perkin's three counsellors had registered themselves sanctuary men, when their master did; and whether they were pardoned, or continued in sanctuary, they were not proceeded against. The Mayor of *Cork*, however, and his son, who had been the principal abettors of *Perkin's* treasons, were executed with him. Eight others

others were soon after condemned on account of the tower conspiracy, of which, four were the lieutenant's men, but two only were executed. Immediately after this, was arraigned before the earl of Oxford, high steward of *England*, for the time being, the poor prince *Edward*, earl of Warwick, not for his attempt to escape, but for conspiring with *Perkin* to raise sedition, and destroy the King. The Earl confessing the indictment, received judgment, and was shortly after beheaded on Tower-hill.

Thus ended in the person of *Edward*, earl of Warwick, eldest son to the duke of Clarence, the male line of the *Plantagenets*, which had flourished in great royalty and renown, from the time of *Henry* the second. This execution hurt the King exceedingly in the opinion of his people ; neither the crime of the earl of Warwick, nor reasons of state could reconcile them to the proceeding. *Henry* laid the charge of it, therefore on his new ally, *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*. Indeed it was so settled between the two kings, that letters were produced from *Spain*, where, in the treaty of marriage, *Ferdinand*

dinand had written to Henry, in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his accession, while the earl of Warwick lived; and that he was unwilling to send his daughter into troubles and dangers. Though the King by this step, lessened the blame he lay under, yet he was not aware that it brought a kind of curse upon his son's marriage; and indeed the lady Catherine herself, who was a religious woman, long after, when Henry the eighth's resolution to be divorced from her, was first made known to her, used words to this effect, that she was not conscious that she had given any offence; but it was a judgment of God, her former marriage with prince Arthur, having been made in blood, alluding to the death of the earl of Warwick.

In the year 1499, London, and many parts of the kingdom were afflicted with the plague. The King, on this account, shifted his place of residence often, and whether it was to avoid the infection more effectually, or give the Arch-duke an opportunity of an interview, or both; he sailed over with his Queen to Calais, then in the possession of the English. On his arrival

arrival there, the Arch-duke sent an ambassador to him, welcoming him into that place, and to tell him, that if agreeable to him, he would wait on him, and do him reverence; but requested a place of meeting might be appointed, without a walled town, he having refused an interview with the *French King* in an armed place; and though he made a great difference between the two kings, yet he was unwilling to give a precedent, that might make it expected of him in future, by one in whom he could less confide. *Henry* accepted of the compliment, admitted of the excuse, and appointed the place to be at St. *Peter's* church, without the gates of *Calais*. But he met the Arch-duke, in company with Lord *St. John*, and the secretary, who were ambassadors appointed by himself; and the Arch-duke did them the honour to put Lord *St. John* on his right-hand, and the secretary on his left, and rode between them to church. On the day appointed for the interview; the King to receive the Arch-duke, went on horseback to some distance from St. *Peter's* church; and, on his approaching, the Arch-duke

alighted and offered to hold the King's stirrup, whilst he did the same, which *Henry* would not permit, but, getting off his horse, they embraced each other with great affection; and, retiring within the church, to a place prepared, they had a long conference, not only on the confirmation of former treaties, and the freedom of trade between the two countries, but on the subject of a cross marriage between the duke of *York*, the King's second son, and the Arch-duke's daughter; and between *Charles*, the Arch-duke's son and heir, and *Mary*, the King's second daughter. But these proposals were little more than friendly wishes; yet, one of them was afterwards concluded on in a treaty, though it never took place. In the course of this conference, the Arch-duke made many apologies for his conduct respecting *Perkin*, said his father, and father-in-law frequently advised him to solicit, and place himself under the friendship of King *Henry* of *England*; that he prided himself in having that friendship, and called *Henry* at times his patron, his father, and protector. These words *Henry* afterward repeated

peated to the city, when he assured them of the Arch-duke's love and affection.

Whilst *Henry* was at *Calais*, *Louis* the French king, sent the governor of *Picardy*, and the bailiff of *Amiens*, to do him honour; and to acquaint him of his victory in recovering the duchy of *Milan*. Indeed the King was so well pleased with the compliments and honours he received while abroad, that he afterwards related every particular of them to the mayor and aldermen of *London*. For *Henry*, though he had not the good-will of the city equally with *Edward* the Fourth; yet by affability and other princely graces, he seemed to court their favour.

This year died cardinal *John Morton*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and chancellor of *England*. He was a man of great eloquence and wisdom, but in his nature harsh and haughty; much in favour with the King, but envied by the nobility, and hated by the people. Nor was his name left out in *Perkin*'s proclamation, for any good-will towards him, but on account of his being a cardinal. He acquired the King's affections from having been his old servant

servant in the days of his less prosperity, and from having an inevitable hatred to the house of *York*, under whom he had been in trouble. He had been by *Richard the Third*, committed as in custody, to the duke of *Buckingham*, whom he secretly incited to revolt from *Richard*. But after the duke was engaged, and expected the bishop to be his chief pilate in the tempest, he fled abroad and deserted him. Independent of this, he deserves to be well spoken of, for he was the principal means of uniting the two houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. He died very much advanced in years.

The next year 1500, was the year of jubilee at *Rome*: but pope *Alexander* to save the fatigue and expence of mens travelling there for such benedictions as are at that time generally bestowed, thought proper to grant them, by commission to such persons as would pay for them, without the trouble of going to *Rome* for them. For this purpose, *Jasper Pons*, a *Spaniard*, was sent as the pope's commissioner, into *England*, who executed the business with great wisdom and apparent holiness; so that he raised

ed great sums of money in this country, for the pope's use, with some degree of reputation. It was thought at home that *Henry* partook of the money, but it appeared afterwards, by a letter which cardinal *Adrian*, the King's pensioner, wrote to him, from *Rome*, that this was not the case. For this cardinal being employed by *Henry*, to persuade pope *Julius* to expedite the bull of dispensation for the marriage between prince *Henry* and the lady *Catherine*; finding the pope rather averse to it, made use of this as a principal argument, to show that the King had some pretensions to the favour of his holiness; that he had touched none of those deniers which had been levied by *Pons*, in *England*. That it might better appear to the satisfaction of the public, that this money, which *Pons* levied, was consecrated to pious uses; he brought the King a brief from the pope, exhorting him, and summoning him, to come in person against the *Turks*; for that the pope, (as a universal father) seeing the success and progress of that great enemy of the christian faith, had held in conclave, where the ambassadors of foreign princes

princes assisted, several consultations about a holy war, and a general expedition of christian princes against the *Turks*; wherein it was agreed and thought necessary, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians*, should make war upon *Thrace*; the *French*, and *Spaniards*, upon *Greece*; and, that the Pope, (willing to sacrifice himself in so good a cause), should, in person, and, in company with the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, and with such other states as were great in naval strength, sail with a powerful navy, to *Constantinople*, by the *Mediterranean*. That his holiness, for this purpose, had sent nuncios to all christian princes, to urge a cessation of all quarrels and differences amongst themselves, and a speedy preparation and contribution of money and forces, for this sacred enterprise.

To this, the King, who well understood the meaning of the court of *Rome*, made rather a solemn than a serious answer. He gave them to learn,

“ That no prince on earth would be more forward or obedient, both in person and by all assistance in his power, to enter into

into this sacred war, than himself; but that the distance was so great, that he could prepare no naval forces, but at double the expence of other princes, whose territories were near adjoining, and, in not less than double the time. That neither his ships, (having no gallies), nor the experience of his pilots, or seamen, were adapted to those seas: that of course, his Holiness had better apply to the king of *Spain* or *France*, to accompany him by sea, either of whom was more able to be of service to the cause; would be sooner prepared, and at less expence; and, it would obviate any emulation or difference of command that might arise between those kings, should they both join in the war by land, against *Greece*; saying that he would not be wanting himself in aid and contribution: yet, notwithstanding, should both these kings refuse, rather than his Holiness should go alone, he would attend him as soon as he could be ready. But before he could take any step of this kind, he must first see all differences of the christian princes among themselves, fully quieted and appeased; and have some good towns

towns upon the *Italian* coast, put into his hands, for the retreat and safety of his men.

With this answer *Pons* returned perfectly satisfied. And yet, this declaration of king *Henry*, (superficial as it was) gave him so much reputation abroad, that he was soon after elected by the knights of *Rhodes*, protector of their order.

In these last two years some proceedings were held against heretics, rare, indeed, in this king's reign, but rather by penances than fire. *Henry* had the honour, though he was by no means a good scholar, to convert one of them by dispute at *Canterbury*.

This year *Henry* was again alarmed by a step of the earl of *Suffolk*. This man, who was son to *Elizabeth*, eldest sister to king *Edward* the Fourth, by *John*, duke of *Suffolk*, her second husband, and brother to *John*, earl of *Lincoln*, who was slain at *Stokefield*, being of a warm and hasty disposition, had killed a man in his anger, which *Henry* pardoned, but obliged him to plead that pardon publicly. This so offended the haughty earl, who considered it as ignominious, that he fled secretly into *Flanders*,

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to his aunt the duchess of *Burgundy*. Henry startled at this, but being taught by troubles to use fair and timely remedies; and finding the lady *Margaret* better disposed to him than formerly, probably because her name had not been brought forward in *Perkin's* confession, soon prevailed upon the earl, by messages, to return; and the King received him kindly, and was reconciled to him.

On the 2d of October, 1501, lady *Catherine*, fourth daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, king and queen of *Spain*, arrived at *Plymouth*, and was married at *St. Paul's*, to prince *Arthur*, the 14th of November following, the prince being then about fifteen years of age, the lady about eighteen. Her reception, her entry into *London*, and the celebration of the nuptials, were attended with great magnificence, under the conduct of bishop *Fox*; who was not only an able counsellor, but an expert surveyor, a good master of ceremonies, and adequate to any employ that required order, arrangement, etiquette, or state. This marriage was almost seven years in treaty, owing in part to the youth of the prince, but chiefly to
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the consideration whether the alliance would be political or not.

The marriage portion which the princess brought, and which was turned over to Henry by act of renunciation, was 200,000 ducats; the half of which was made payable ten days after the solemnization of the marriage, and the other half at two annual instalments; part of this was paid in jewels and plate. Her jointure was the third part of the principality of *Wales*, of the dukedom of *Cornwall*, and the earldom of *Chester*, to be hereafter set forth in severalty; and in case she came to be queen of *England*, she was to have as good a dowry as any former queen of *England* ever had.

In the triumphal preparations of this marriage, there were a great many astronomical devices made use of. The princess was compared to *Hesperus*, the prince to *Arcaturus*, and the old king *Alphonsus*, ancestor to the princess, was brought in as the fortune-teller of the match. *Arthur the Briton*, and the descent of the lady *Catherine*, from the house of *Lancaster*, were not forgotten. But this young prince, who not only drew upon himself the hopes and af-

fections of his country, but the eyes and expectations of foreigners, did not long survive his marriage, for he died at *Ludlow Castle*, in the beginning of April following, where he went to reside as prince of *Wales*. There is little said of this prince, but that he was very studious and learned, far before those of his own age and other princes of his time.

When *Henry the Eighth's* divorce from queen *Catherine* was in agitation, it was doubted whether *Arthur* was ever bedded to his lady, or had that knowledge of his wife which husbands have*; the lady herself denied it, at least her council denied it for her. And this doubt was long kept up, in respect to the two succeeding queens, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, whose legitimacies were incompatible with each other, though their succession was settled by act of parliament. The times that favoured queen *Mary's* legitimacy would have it believed, that *Arthur* had no actual knowledge of his wife. Not that they would seem to derogate from the pope's absolute power of dispensing

* For *Henry the Eighth* married his brother *Arthur's* widow.

with the marriage, even had it been so; but only to make the case more favourable: and those that favoured queen *Elizabeth's* legitimacy maintained the contrary. So much is remembered, that it was half a year between prince *Arthur's* death and the time that *Henry* was created prince of *Wales*, which was construed to give full time to know whether the lady *Catherine* was with child by prince *Arthur* or not. Besides, the princess herself procured a bull for the better confirmation of her marriage, with a clause of *vel forsan cognitam*, which was not in the first bull. There was also given in evidence, when the cause of divorce was heard, that one morning prince *Arthur*, on rising from his bed, called for drink, which he was not accustomed to do, and observing his gentleman of the chamber that brought him the drink, to smile at it; he said, merrily to him, that he had been in the midst of *Spain*, which was a hot country, and his journey had made him dry; and that if the other had been in so hot a clime, he would have been more dry than he was. Besides, the Prince was on
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the eve of sixteen when he died, and was a forward youth of a strong constitution.

On the *February* following, *Henry* duke of *York*, was created prince of *Wales*, and earl of *Chester* and *Flint*, the dukedom of *Cornwall*, devolving to him by statute. *Henry*, unwilling to part with a second dowry, and thinking it politic to continue the alliance with *Spain*, prevailed with the Prince, then not twelve years of age, to be contracted in marriage to his brother's widow: the secret providence of God ordaining that marriage to be the occasion of great events and changes.

The same year *James*, king of *Scotland*, was married, by proxy, to the lady *Margaret*, the King's eldest daughter, and it was published at *Paul's cross*, the 25th of *January*, when *Te Deum* was solemnly sung. The joy of the city upon this occasion was more than could be expected, considering the late great enmity between *England* and *Scotland*, and was therefore supposed to arise from an opinion that it might be attended with good consequences at some future time. They were married at *Edinburgh*, August 1502. *Henry* conducted his daughter

as far on the way as *Colliweston*, and then consigned her to the care of the earl of *Northumberland*, who, with a great suite of nobility, brought her into *Scotland* to the King her husband.

This marriage had been in treaty almost three years from the time that the king of *Scotland* first opened his mind on the subject to bishop *Fox*. Her marriage portion was 10,000*l.* and her jointure and settlement, assured by the king of *Scotland*, was two thousand pounds a year, after the death of her husband, and one thousand pounds a year during his life. This to be secured to her by lands. It is reported, that during the treaty, *Henry* referred the matter to his council, and that some of them put this case to him; that should it please God to take *Henry*'s two sons without issue, then the kingdom of *England* would fall to the king of *Scotland*, which might prejudice the monarchy of *England*. To which the King replied, that should this be the case, *Scotland* would be only an accession to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, for that the greater would draw the less; and that it was a safer union

union for *England*, than that of *France*. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that put the question.

The rejoicings and festivals attendant on these two marriages were checked and damped this year with the mournings and funerals of prince *Arthur*, whose death we have mentioned, and that of queen *Elizabeth* who died in child-bed in the tower, and whose child lived not long after. There died also this year Sir *Reginald Bray*, who is reported to have been able to have taken, greater liberties with the King, than any of his counsellors; but it was a liberty taken, the better to countenance his flattery.

At this time the King's situation was very prosperous, secured by the amity of *Scotland*, strengthened by that of *Spain*, cherished by that of *Burgundy*, all domestic troubles at an end, and the noise of war (like thunder at a distance) rattling only over *Italy*. The King therefore yielded to the bent of his nature, and turned his thoughts to the increasing of his wealth. For this purpose he employed two very fit instruments, *Empson* and *Dudley*, bold men, careless of their characters, and who took care to serve them-

selves at their master's expence. The people called them his horse-leeches and shearers. *Dudley* was a man of good family, eloquent, and one that could put a good colouring upon the most odious busines: but *Empson*, who was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the completion of the act, without paying any regard to the circumstances attending it. These two persons were lawyers by profession, and were of the King's privy council, but they turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine. Their plan was first to indict people for sundry crimes, and when the bills were found, and the supposed criminals committed, they did not proceed farther against them, but suffered them to languish long in prison; when, by various schemes and threats, they contrived to extort money from them, which they called compositions and mitigations.

Neither did they, in the end, shew any degree of justice in proceeding by indictment, but sent forth their warrants, and had persons brought before them and some others, at their own private houses, in a court of commission, where they used to shuffle

shuffle up a summary proceeding, by way of examination, without trial by jury; assuming an authority, to determine on pleas of the crown and civil causes.

They used likewise to load and charge the subjects lands with tenures *in capite*, by finding false offices, and thereby coming upon them for wardships, liveries, premier seisins and alienations (the fruits of those tenures), refusing under various pretexts and delay, to admit men to traverse those false offices, according to law. Nay the King's wards, after they had arrived to full age, were not suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They also vexed men with informations of intrusion upon titles scarce colourable.

When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums, standing upon the strict point of law, which in out-lawries is forfeiture of goods: nay, contrary to all law and colour of law, they maintained that in case of out-lawry, the King was entitled to the half of the lands

and rents of the out-law, for the space of two full years. They would also perplex the jurors, oblige them to find as they directed, and if not, would summon them, imprison, and fine them.

These, and many other ways, fitter to be buried in oblivion than recorded, they had of preying upon the people, like tame hawks for their master, and wild hawks for themselves, so that in time they became exceedingly rich: but their principal working was upon the penal laws, wherein they spared neither great nor small; nor considered whether the law they enforced was possible or not, whether in use or obsolete, but raked over all the new and old statutes, having ever a rabble of promoters and leading jurors at their command, so that they could have any thing found, either for fact or valuation.

There remains a report even to this day, that the King was once entertained by the earl of *Oxford*, his principal adviser and agent, at his castle at *Henningham* richly and sumptuously. And at the King's going away, the Earl's servants in an orderly manner, in their livery coats with cognizances in

in their hands, ranged on both sides and made a lane for the King. *Henry*, calling the Earl to him, said, “ My Lord, I have heard much “ of your hospitality, but I see it is greater “ than reported. These gentlemen and “ yeomen on both sides, I presume, are “ your menial servants.” The Earl smiled and said, “ not so and please your Grace ; “ I can ill afford to keep such a number of “ servants. They are most of them my re- “ tainers, and are come to do me service “ at such a time as this, particularly as it “ gives them an opportunity to see your “ Grace.” The King started at this and said, “ By my faith, my Lord, I thank you for “ my good cheers, but I must not suffer “ my laws to be broken in my sight. My “ attorney must speak with you ; ” and it is part of the report that the Earl compounded for no less than 15,000 marks. And to shew farther the King’s extreme diligence and accuracy, I remember to have seen long since a book of accounts of *Empson’s*, that had the King’s hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing it, and in many places the King had written in the margin.

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In this book was the following memorandum.

“ *Item.* Received of ————— four
“ marks for a pardon to be procured ; and
“ if the pardon do not pass, the money to
“ be repaid ; except the party be some
“ other-way satisfied.

And over against this memorandum, were the following words, in the King’s own writing.—“ *Otherwise satisfied.*”

I mention this, because it shews in the King a nearness, though at the same time, an apparent justice.

But, in the mean time, to keep the King awake, the earl of *Suffolk* having been too gay at prince *Arthur’s* marriage, and got deeply in debt, had once more a mind to turn knight-errant, and seek adventures abroad, therefore taking his brother with him, he fled into *Flanders*. Doubtless that which gave him confidence, was the general murmuring of the people, against the King’s government, and being a man of a light and rash disposition, he fancied every vapour would become a tempest. Neither wanted he a party within the kingdom, for the murmurs of the people, generally awake the

the discontent of the nobility, and this commonly calls forth a leader of sedition. The King had recourse again to arts, which was his customary method of proceeding. He directed Sir *Robert Curzon*, captain of *Hammes* castle, who was all that time abroad, and therefore less likely to be an agent of the King's, to fly from his charge, wait upon the Earl and offer him his service. It was accepted, and this man having insinuated himself into the Earl's secrets, and finding out the persons on whom the Earl had any reliance, acquainted the king with the whole, preserving at the same time his own credit with the Earl. Upon this information the King ordered *William Courtney*, earl of *Devonshire*, his brother in law, married to lady *Catherine*, daughter to King *Edward* the Fourth, to be apprehended; and also *William de la Pole*, brother to the earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *James Tirrel*, Sir *John Windham*, and some other persons of less note, and committed them to custody. *George lord Abergavenny* and Sir *Thomas Green* were at the same time taken up, but as they were less suspected, they were not so closely confined, and were soon after set at liberty.

liberty. The earl of *Devonshire*, as being interested in the blood of *York*, and as one that might be the object of others plots and designs, continued a prisoner in the Tower during the King's life. *William de la Pole* was also long confined, but not so closely as the earl of *Devonshire*. But for Sir *James Tirrel* (against whom the blood of the innocent prince, *Edward* the fifth, and his brother, still cryed from beneath the altar), Sir *John Windham*, and the rest of less note, they were attainted and executed; the two knights were beheaded. To confirm, however, the credit of *Curzon*, who probably might have others to impeach, about the time of the said executions; the Pope's bull of excommunication, and curse against the earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Robert Curzon*, and some others by name, and likewise in general against the abettors of the said Earl, was published at *Paul's* cross, wherein heaven was made to bow too much to earth, and religion to policy. Soon after, *Curzon* (when he found it a proper time) returned into *England*, and into favour with the King, but lost his character with the people. The earl of *Suffolk* discouraged at this, and deſtitute

titute of all hopes, after wandering some time in *France* and *Germany*, returned again under the protection of the archduke *Philip* in *Flanders*, who, by the death of *Isabella*, was at that time King of *Castile*, in the right of *Joan* his wife, for the lady *Margeret*, owing to the bad success she had experienced, became at last, cool in her attempts on the crown of *England*.

In 1503, the King called a parliament, and to shew how absolute he was, the hated *Dudley* was appointed speaker, There were not many remarkable statutes passed in this parliament, respecting the government of the country; but such as were, bore the stamp of the King's wisdom and policy.

One was made for disannulling all patents of lease or grant, to such as came not upon lawful summons to serve in the army, against rebels or the King's Enemies, or who thought proper to depart without the King's licence; provided nevertheless, that they should receive the King's pay from the time they left their houses till their return.

Another

Another statute was made, prohibiting the importation of manufactured silk, wrought by itself, or mixt with thread. But it did not relate to whole pieces, no such manufacture being at that time in use; but of silk, knit or wove, as ribband, laces, cauls, points and girdles, &c. which the people of *England* then knew how to make. This law pointed at a true political principle, that where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited, for this will either banish the superfluity, or introduce the manufacture into the country.

There was also a law made for the resuming of patents of gaols, and the reannexing them to sheriffwicks; privileged officers being no less an interruption of justice, than privileged places.

There was also a law to restrain the bye-laws of corporations, which often militated against the prerogative of the crown, the common law of the land, and the liberty of the subject. It was therefore enacted that such bye-laws should not be carried into execution, without the approbation of the chancellor, treasurer, and the two chief justices,

justices, or three of them, or of the two justices of circuit where the corporation was.

Another law was (in effect) to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint; in making all clipped, diminished, or impaired silver coin not current in payment; so that the mint was set to work, and a new coinage took place.

There likewise was a long statute passed against vagabonds, and it is worth notice, that in all the statutes of this reign, respecting vagabonds; dice, cards, and unlawful gaming are forbidden to servants and low persons, and ale houses are suppressed; as if these things were connected with each other, and the one was useless without the other.

As for riot and retainers, there scarce passed any parliament in this time without a law against them, the King ever having an eye to tumultuous meetings.

There was also granted, this parliament, a subsidy both from the laity and the clergy; and yet notwithstanding, e'er the year expired, there were issued commissions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars

wars nor apprehensions of war. The same year the city gave 5000 marks for a confirmation of their liberties, a circumstance fitter for the beginning of a reign than the end of one. Nor was it a small matter which the mint gained; upon the late statute, by the recoinage of groats and half groats, now shillings and sixpences. As for *Empson* and *Dudley*, they screwed the people more than ever; so that what with the last payments of the marriage portion money from *Spain*, the subsidy, the benevolence, the recoinage, the redemption of the city's liberties, and the casualties, the treasury overflowed. And what is most extraordinary, the King had no wars or troubles upon his hands; he had now but one son and one daughter unmarried, and he was wise, high minded, and excelled in so many things, that there was no need to glory in his wealth. But he was an avaritious man, and avarice is always ambitious.

This year was also kept, the serjeants feast, being the second call in this reign.

About this time died *Isabella*, queen of *Castile*. She was an honour to her sex, and
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the age she lived in, and was the corner stone of that greatness which *Spain* now enjoys. This accident *Henry* considered as affecting him. He conceived in the first place, that the case of *Ferdinand of Arragon*, was similar to his, after the death of his own queen, and the case of *Joan*, heir to *Castile*, similar to that of his own son *Henry*; for if both kings held their kingdoms in right of their wives, they descended to the heirs, and did not devolve to the husbands; and although in support of his own crown, he could plead conquest and an act of parliament; yet that natural title of descent in blood, did however, in the opinion of wise men, create a doubt that the other two were not good, safe, and sufficient. He was wonderfully diligent therefore, to enquire and observe what became of the king of *Arragon*, in holding and continuing the kingdom of *Castile*; whether he held it in his own right, or as administrator to his daughter, and whether he were like to hold it in fact, or be put out of it by his son-in-law. In the next place, he revolved in his mind that the state of christendom might by this late accident have a turn. For though he, in conjunction

with *Arragon* and *Castile* then united, and the friendship of *Maximilian* and *Philip* his son, the archduke, was far too powerful for *France*, yet he began to fear, that now the *French* king (who had great interest with *Philip* the young king of *Castile*) and *Philip*, who was on ill terms with his father-in-law, about the present government of that country, and *Maximilian*, *Philip*'s father, who was ever variable, would, all three, being powerful princes, enter into some alliance; whereby, though it might not endanger him, might still leave him to the single friendship of *Arragon*; and whereas he had before been a kind of arbiter to *Europe*, he should now become of less authority and less influence. He had also, as it appears, an inclination to marry, and hoped to benefit by that marriage. Among other ladies, he had heard of the beauty and virtuous conduct of the young queen of *Naples*, then about twenty-seven years of age, the widow of *Ferdinand* the younger. By which marriage, he was of opinion that the kingdom of *Naples*, might in some way be deposited in his hands, and he might be able to hold it when once he had it in possession.

possession. He sent, therefore, at two different times, three persons on whom he could confide, *Francis Marſin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Stile*, with a view rather to make enquiries, than negotiate. First they enquired into the person and condition of the young queen, next, into all the particulars respecting her situation, and the fortune and intention of her late husband; and as such persons can make the best observations, who are least noticed, he sent them under colourable pretexts, giving them complimentary letters from the princess *Catherine*, to her aunt and niece, the old and young queen of *Naples*, and delivering them a book of new articles of peace, which notwithstanding a copy of it had been delivered to Doctor *de Puebla*, the *Spanish* ambassador here in *England*, for him to send; yet as the King had not heard from *Spain* for some time, he thought proper that these messengers, when they had been with the two queens, should pass on to the court of *Ferdinand*, and take a copy of the book with them. Their instructions respecting the young queen, were curious, being rather articles directing a survey. They were

to enquire into the nature of her person, complexion, countenance, features, stature, health, age, customs, conditions, and estate; so that if *Henry* had been young, men would have thought him amorous; but being between forty and fifty, it must certainly be supposed, that he was very chaste, looking for every thing in one woman, that he might settle his affections without ranging. But he was soon cooled in this enterprise, when his ambassadors informed him that the young queen had had a good jointure in the kingdom of *Naples*, well paid during the time of her uncle *Frederick*, nay, during the time of king *Louis of France*, in whose division her revenue fell, but since the kingdom was in the hands of *Ferdinand*, all was assigned to the army and garrisons there, and she received only a pension from him.

The other part of their enquiry acquainted him fully with the present state of king *Ferdinand*. By their report it appeared that *Ferdinand* continued the government of *Castile*, as administrator to his daughter *Joan*, in virtue of queen *Isabella's* will; but partly, as he pretended, by the custom of the kingdom,

dom, that all mandates and grants were issued in the name of *Joan*, his daughter, and himself as administrator, without mentioning *Philip* her husband: and that *Ferdinand*, however he might drop the title of king of *Castile*, meant to hold the kingdom without account, and in absolute command.

It appeared also, that he flattered himself with the hopes that king *Philip* would leave the government of *Castile* to him, during his life; and he laboured to bring this to bear, through some of *Philip's* counsellors, who were at *Ferdinand's* devotion; but chiefly through a declaration, that in case *Philip* would not acquiesce, he would marry some young lady, and put him out of the succession of *Arragon* and *Grenada*, in case he should have a son; and lastly, by representing to him that the government of *Burgundy* would not be endured by the *Spaniards*, till *Philip* by a continuance in *Spain*, was, as it were, naturalized to the country. But though these reasons were wisely considered and laid down, yet *Ferdinand* failed in his scheme.

In the same report also, the ambassadors, who were low men, and therefore the more free, struck upon a thing which was somewhat dangerous, for they declared plainly that the *Spaniards*, both nobles and commons, would be more attached to *Philip*, if he brought his wife with him, than to *Ferdinand*; and gave it as the reason, because he had imposed on them many taxes and tallages, which was *Henry's* own case between him and his son.

There was also in the report, a declaration of an overture of marriage, which *Amason*, *Ferdinand's* secretary, had made to the ambassadors in great secrecy, between *Charles*, prince of *Castile*, and *Mary*, the King's second daughter, assuring the King, that the treaty of marriage then on foot for the said prince and the daughter of *France* would break, and that the Princess of *France* would be married, to *Angolesme*, the heir apparent to that crown.

Some mention also was made of a marriage between *Ferdinand* and Madame *De Foix*, a lady of the blood royal of *France*, which afterwards indeed took place. But this

this was reported as being talked of in *France*, but hushed in *Spain*.

Henry, by the return of this embassage, which gave great light into his affairs, was well instructed, and prepared how to carry himself between *Ferdinand*, king of *Arragon*, and *Philip* his son-in-law, king of *Castile*, determining with himself to do all in his power, to keep them on good terms with each other; but let this happen as it might, he was resolved, by a moderation of conduct, and appearing as the common friend of both, to lose the friendship of neither, but still to be more secretly in the interest of *Ferdinand*, though more apparently in that of *Philip*. He was much taken with the proposal of prince *Charles*'s marriage with his daughter *Mary*; not only because it would be a great match, but secure him the alliance of both princes.

To strengthen his alliance with *Philip* the winds were very favourable, and gave him the opportunity of an interview. For *Philip* chusing the winter season, the more to surprize the king of *Arragon*, failed with a large fleet from *Flanders* for *Spain*, in the month of January 1505, but a severe tempest

scattered his ships upon the several coasts of *England*. And the ship on board of which the King and Queen were, in company with two other small barks only, torn and in great danger of sinking, were thrust into *Weymouth*. *Philip*, alarmed and sea-sick, was desirous to land, in order to recover his spirits though it was against the opinion of his council, who dreaded it might delay him, and he had no time to lose.

The news of a powerful navy arriving on the coast, made the people arm. And Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, with forces very expeditiously raised, not knowing what the matter might be, marched to *Weymouth*; where understanding the accident, he, with great humility and humanity, invited the King and Queen to his house, and sent off an express immediately to *Henry*. Soon after came Sir *John Crew* also, with a great troop of men well armed, shewing the king of *Castile* the same respect, when he knew the case. *Philip* doubting whether they, as subjects, durst suffer him to re-embark without *Henry's* notice and leave, yielded to their entreaties to stay till they heard from court. *Henry*, as soon as he heard the news, commanded

manded the earl of *Arundel* to wait on the king of *Castile*, and give him to understand that, although he was sorry for the accident that brought him on shore, he was happy to hear of his escape from the danger, and was glad of the opportunity it gave him to do him honour ; that he begged he would consider himself as in his own dominions, and that he would make all the haste he could to come and embrace him. The earl waited on him with great magnificence, attended by a troop of three hundred horse, and for the greater state, went by torch light. After the delivery of his message, *Philip*, seeing how matters went, that he might the sooner get away, set off post to the king at *Windsor*, his queen following by easy journeys. The two kings at their meeting used all the caresses, and shewed every demonstration, of affection possible. *Philip* observed pleasantly to the king, that he was now punished for not coming within his walled town of *Calais*, when last they met : but *Henry* answered that walls and seas were nothing, where hearts were open, and that he was here no otherwise than to be attended on. After a day or two, the kings entered

tered upon a renewal of the treaty between them. *Henry* saying, that though king *Philip*'s person was the same, yet his situation being greater than it was, made among princes, a renovation of treaties necessary. While in discourse on this subject, *Henry* took his opportunity, and drawing the king of *Castile* into a room where none was present but themselves, he laid his hand civilly on *Philip*'s arm, and with a countenance a little changed from that of hospitality, said to him, “ You have been saved, “ Sir, upon my coast, I hope you will not “ suffer me to be wrecked upon yours.” The king of *Castile* asked him what he meant by that speech? “ I mean,” returns *Henry* “ by that same hair-brained wild fellow, “ my subject, the earl of *Suffolk*, who is pro-“ teeted in your country, and begins to “ play the fool, when all others are weary “ of it.” “ I thought, Sir,” says the king of *Castile*, “ your happiness had been above those thoughts, but if it troubles you, I “ will banish him.” *Henry* replied, “ such “ hornets were best in their nest, and worst “ when flying abroad, and that his desire was “ to have him delivered up to him.” *Philip* a little

a little confused at this, and pausing, said,
“ that I cannot do consistent with *my* ho-
“ nour, and much *less* with *yours*, for you
“ would, in such a case, be thought to have
“ treated me as a prisoner.” The king
presently said, “ Then the matter is at
“ end ; for I will take that dishonour
“ upon me, and thus will your honour be
“ saved.” *Philip*, who had a great regard
for the king, and also recollecting where he
was, and knowing not what occasion he
might have hereafter for the king’s friend-
ship, he being newly come to his crown,
and unsettled both with his father-in-law
and his people, composing his countenance,
said, “ Sir, you give *law to me*; so will
“ *I to you*: you shall have him, but upon
“ your honour, you shall not take his life.”
The King embracing him, said, “ Agreed,”
“ Neither shall it displease you,” said *Philip*,
“ if I send him to you in a way, that he
“ may partly come of his own good will.”
Henry replied, “ It was a good thought,
“ and if agreeable to him, he would join
“ with him in sending the earl a message
“ to that purpose.” They both sent seve-
rally, and in the mean time, continued their
festivities

festivities and amusements. *Henry* being on his part desirous to have the earl in his possession, before the king of *Castile* went, and *Philip* being as desirous of seeming to be obliged to it. *Henry* with much good sense, advised *Philip* to be governed by the counsel of *Ferdinand*, whom he thought a prudent, experienced, and a fortunate prince. *Philip's* reply (who was not on the best of terms with his father-in-law) was, that “ if *Ferdinand* would suffer him to “ govern his own kingdoms, he should go-“ vern him.”

Messengers, were immediately sent from both kings, to recall the earl of *Suffolk*, who, on gentle words, was soon changed, and willing to return, assured of his life, and hoping for his liberty. He was brought from *Flanders* to *Calais*, and thence to *Dover*, and with sufficient guard delivered up at the Tower of *London*. In the mean time, *Henry*, to lengthen out the time, continued his entertainments to amuse king *Philip*, gave him the order of the garter, and in return, the prince of *Wales* was admitted to the order of the golden fleece. *Henry* accompanied the king and queen of *Castile* to
London

London, where they were entertained by the city, notwithstanding the short notice they had of it, with the greatest magnificence and triumph. And as soon as the earl of *Suffolk* was conveyed to the tower (which was the most serious part of the business) all festivities were at an end, and the kings took leave of each other; still, however, whilst they were together, they in substance concluded that treaty, which the *Flemings* call *Intercursus malus*, and bears date at *Windfor*, there being some articles in it more to the advantage of the *English* than of them; particularly as the free fishery of the *Dutch* upon the coasts and seas of *England*, granted in the treaty of *Undecimo*, was not by this treaty confirmed. All articles that confirmed former treaties, being precisely and warily limited and confined to matter of commerce only, and not otherwise.

It was observed that the great tempest which drove *Philip* into *England*, blew down the golden eagle from the spire of *St. Paul's*; and, in its fall, it fell upon a sign of the black-eagle, which was in *St. Paul's* church-yard, in the place where the school-house

house now stands ; and battered it and broke it down. This was interpreted by the people as an ominous prognostic upon the Imperial house ; which was by interpretation also fulfilled upon *Philip*, the Emperor's son, not only in his suffering by the late tempest, but in that which followed. For *Philip* arriving in *Spain*, and attaining the possession of the kingdom of *Castile*, without resistance, (insomuch that *Ferdinand*, who talked such high language before, was with difficulty admitted to the presence of his son-in-law) fell soon after sick and died. Yet after some time it was said, by the wisest of those about him, that had he lived, his father would have gained upon him so, as to have governed his councils and designs, if not his affections. By his death, all *Spain* returned into the hands of *Ferdinand*, as before ; particularly as his daughter *Joan*, who loved her husband, (by whom she had many children,) to an extreme, and was equally beloved by him, was unable to support his loss ; but went out of her mind : though *Ferdinand*, to lessen *Philip* in the opinion of his people, gave out, that he treated her ill ; and to keep the reins in his

his own hand, took no means to recover her.

Henry, about this time, desirous to do honour to the house of *Lancaster*, solicited pope *Julius* to canonize king *Henry* the Sixth, for a saint; chiefly because he foretold that he, *Henry of Richmond*, would possess the crown. *Julius*, according to custom, referred the matter to certain cardinals, to examine into his holy acts and miracles; but it died away under the reference. the general opinion was, that *Julius* was too high in his demands, and that *Henry* would not agree to them. But the more probable reason is, that the pope, who was extremely jealous of the dignity of the see of *Rome*, and its acts; knowing that *Henry* the Sixth was reputed to be a weak man, was fearful it would diminish that kind of honour, if a proper distinction was not made between harmless people and saints.

The same year also, a treaty of marriage was set on foot between *Henry* and *Margaret*, duchess dowager of *Savoy*, only daughter to *Maximilian*, and sister of the king of *Castile*; a lady of high estimation and great good character. This matter had

been talked of between the two kings when they met, and was now resumed. *Thomas Wolsey*, the king's chaplain, afterwards cardinal *Wolsey*, was the first person employed in this business.—It was at last concluded with great and ample conditions for *Henry*, but with promise *de futuro* only. *Henry*, probably, was the more induced to it, on account of the marriage going on between *Ferdinand* and Madame *De Fois*, which would bring about a fresh alliance between *France* and *Spain*. Nay there is a farther tradition (in *Spain*, though not with us) that *Ferdinand*, after he knew that the marriage between *Charles*, the young prince of *Castile*, and *Mary*, *Henry*'s second daughter, was likely to come to pass, which though it was first propos'd by *Ferdinand*, yet, he began to fear that *Henry* might aspire to the government of *Castile*, as administrator during the minority of his son-in-law: as if there was a competition between three persons, for that government, *Ferdinand*, grandfather, on the mother's side; *Maximilian*, grandfather on the father's side: and, *Henry*, father-in-law to the young prince. Certain it is, that *Henry*'s

ry's government, (carrying the young prince with him) would have been perhaps more welcome to the *Spaniards*, than that of the other two. For the nobility of *Castile*, that had so lately put out the king of *Arragon*, in favour of king *Philip*, could not but have a secret distrust and distaste of *Ferdinand*. And, as to *Maximilian*, he could not have been the person on many accounts. However, it does not appear probable to me, that *Henry* should have any such design, unless he wished to breathe a warmer air from ill-health. *Henry's* marriage with *Margeret* was deferred from time to time, on account of his illness, for he began to be troubled with the gout, and was at the same time afflicted with the phthisic. He attended to business, however, as before, but began to think seriously of preparing for another world. To this end he gave greater alms than he had been used to do, and discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay confined for fees, or debts under forty shillings.—He was expeditious also in completing his religious foundations; and, in the year following, the twenty-third of his reign, he finished that of the

Savoy. Attending also to the murmurs and complaints of his people, against the oppressions of *Dudley* and *Empson*, he was at last touched with remorse; but, notwithstanding this, these men went on with as great rage as ever. For, there was, this same year, a second sharp prosecution against Sir *William Capel*, for some misconduct in his mayoralty; for which he was condemned to pay a fine of two thousand pounds; but he, being a man of high spirit, and hardened by former troubles, refused to pay any part of it, for which he was committed to the Tower, and there remained until the king's death. *Knesworth* also, who had been mayor of *London*, and both his sheriffs, were, for abuses in their offices, called to account, and imprisoned, but set at liberty on the payment of one thousand four hundred pounds. *Hawis*, an alderman of *London*, was likewise troubled, and died with vexation before his business came to an end. Sir *Laurence Ailmer*, who had been likewise mayor of *London*, and his two sheriffs, were fined a thousand pounds, and Sir *Laurence*, for refusing to pay, was committed to prison, where he continued

continued till *Empson* himself was committed in his place.

Upon this plan of proceeding, it is not to be wondered at, that the king's treasure, under his own keeping at *Richmond*, amounted (as tradition relates) to near 1,800,000l. an immense sum of money in those days.

The last act of state, which concluded *Henry*'s temporal happiness, was the termination of a noble match between his daughter *Mary*, and *Charles*, prince of *Castile*, afterwards the emperor, *Charles the Fifth*; but they were now both very young. This treaty was completed by bishop *Fox*, and other commissioners at *Calais*, the year before the king's death. It appears that he was so highly satisfied in this alliance, that he wrote to the city of *London*, (commanding all possible demonstrations of joy, upon the occasion), saying, he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom, by having a king of *Scotland*, and a prince of *Castile* and *Burgundy*, for his sons-in-law. *Henry* was now at the summit of worldly bliss, having married his children to the best advantage, being in the highest re-

nown throughout *Europe*, having overcome every difficulty, and being immensely rich. He wanted only an opportune death to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune, which the hatred of his people, and the love they bore his son, a bold and liberal prince, then eighteen years old, rendered not impossible.

To crown also the last year of his reign, as well as the first, he did an extraordinary act of piety, worthy to be imitated by all future princes. He granted a general pardon, and declared in his will, that he wished restitution should be made of all those sums which had been wrongfully taken by his officers.

Thus did the *Solomon of England* (for *Solomon* was also too severe on his people in his exactions) after living two and fifty years, and reigning twenty-three years eight months, being perfect in memory and happy in mind, pass to a better world, in the quiet calm of a consuming sickness, on the 22d. of April, 1508, at that palace of *Richmond* which he himself had built.

This

This king, if we speak of him in terms equal to his deserts, was one of the best kind of wonders; a wonder for wise men. He was certainly a religious prince, but as he could see through the superstition of the times, so he was occasionally blinded by human policy. He advanced church-men, and was tender of the privileges of sanctuaries, though they did him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his hospital at the *Savoy*: and, as he gave away a great deal of money in secret charity, it is evident that his public works were directed rather to God's glory, than his own. And as this virtue could not proceed from fear or softness, (for he was valiant and active) it was, doubtless, truly christian and moral. As he knew the way to peace was not to seem anxious to avoid it, he used to talk of and threaten war, till he could bring about such a peace as he wished. It is worth notice, that one who was so great a lover of peace, should be so successful in war: but, so it was.—His arms either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate, nor did he know what a disaster

meant. The war when he came to the crown, and the rebellions of the earl of *Lincoln*, and lord *Audley*, were ended by victory; the wars of *France* and *Scotland*, by peaces, fought by them; that of *Bretagne*, by the accidental death of the duke; and the insurrection of lord *Lovel*, and that of *Perkin*, at *Exeter* and in *Kent*, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows: so that his success in arms was never broken in upon; and in suppressing commotions he ever went in person.

He took pains to support and countenance his laws, and yet those laws were no impediment to his wishes. He so contrived it, that he never suffered either in his prerogative, or his treasury. Still, however, as he would sometimes strain his laws in support of his prerogative, so would he occasionally let down his prerogative to his parliament; for he always consulted them, in cases of coinage, war, or martial discipline. Justice was well administered in his reign, except the king was a party, and except that the council table interposed too much in private property: for during this

this reign, it was in fact a court of justice, especially in the beginning. With his justice, however, he was a prince of mercy, three noblemen only having suffered in his time. The earl of *Warwick*, the lord chamberlain, and lord *Audley*. Never were such great rebellions, expiated with so little blood drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of *Blackheath* and *Exeter*. As to the severity used in *Kent*, it was but upon the scum of the people. His pardons ever both preceeded and followed his sword. He was naturally covetous of wealth, which the people imputed (through a wish to exculpate their king) to cardinal *Martin* and Sir *Reginald Bray*. *Empson* and *Dudley* were persons he no way esteemed, but as executing those purposes, with which he was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced and endeavoured to attone for.* The people endeavoured to account for his conduct, employing these men. Some thought that the continual rebellions with which he had been troubled, led him to hate his people;

* *Empson* and *Dudley* were beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII. 1510.

others

others thought it was done to pull down their proud stomachs, and keep them humble. Some, again, supposed his view was to leave his son rich ; others suspected he had a high design upon some foreign power ; but those I apprehend will be nearest the truth, that impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed on no other ambition or pursuit : to which I will add, that having almost daily occasion to observe the necessities and shifts to which other princes were reduced to for money, he was determined to avoid such difficulties. Though he was covetous to accumulate wealth, he never spared it, where his affairs required expence ; and though he was limited in his rewards, he was magnificent in his buildings.

He had an over-bearing mind, loved his own will and his own way, as one that revered himself, and wished to reign absolute. Had he been a private man, he would have been deemed proud ; but in a wise prince, it is considered only as keeping up a proper distance, not admitting any too near his power, or his secrets, for he was governed by none. Even his queen (though she

she bore him many children, and brought him a crown, which by the by, he did not acknowledge) could do nothing with him. His mother, indeed, he reverenced much, yet loved but little. He had no favourites, (such as was *Hastings* to *Edward* the Fourth, or *Charles Brandon* to *Henry* the Eighth) except we call such persons favourites as *Fox*, *Bray*, and *Empson*, because they were much about him; but these were only as instruments are, much with the workman. He kept up a great deal of state and majesty, yet was not vain-glorious, sensible that majesty makes the people bow to the monarch, whereas vain-glory makes the monarch bow to them.

To his allies abroad, he was constant and just, but not open. Such was his enquiry, and such his closeness, that he saw through all their plans, and kept them in the dark, as to what he was about himself: and yet this without any degree of strangeness, but with all the appearance of mutual communication. He never, as other kings have done, envied the reputation or successes of other princes, but attended merely to his own affairs; and this caused his reputation, though

though great at home, to be still greater abroad.

He never grudged expence, but was liberal and studious to obtain good intelligence from all parts of the world; for this purpose he had persons in his private pay at *Rome*, and at other christian courts. He was not, indeed, without his spies at home, but it was by these means that he got at the bottom of the many conspiracies against him; and if spies are lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors: besides, the people knowing spies were employed, it kept conspiracies under.

So far from being an uxorious husband, he was scarcely indulgent to his queen, but companionable and respectful, and without jealousy. He was full of paternal affection to his children, and careful of their education: he studied their high advancement, and though not anxious to render them popular, he took care they wanted not due honour and respect.

To his council he referred much, and sat often there in person, knowing it was the way to give strength to his power, and inform

form his judgment; and till he was determined, and had declared himself, he listened patiently to their advice, and received their votes with complacency. He kept a tight hand upon his nobility, and chose rather to promote clergymen and lawyers, who though they had the interest of the people, were more obsequious to him: to this I am persuaded, was greatly owing the troubles of his reign; for though his nobility were loyal and at his command, yet they did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not in dread of an able man, like *Louis XI.* but was served by the ablest men he could find. Had not this been the case, his affairs could not have prospered as they did. For war he had *Bedford*, *Oxford*, *Surry*, *D'ubigny*, *Brook*, *Poynings*: for other affairs *Morton*, *Fox*, *Bray*, the prior of *Lanthony*, *Warham*, *Urswick*, *Hussey*, *Frowick* and others. Neither did he care how cunning those were whom he employed; for he was of opinion he could over-reach them all. And as he was particular in the choice of men, and chose well, he took care always to support them; for though he was a close prince, and infinitely suspicious,

suspicious, and his times were full of secret conspiracies and troubles, yet in a reign of twenty-four years, he never removed a counsellor or servant, except lord chamberlain *Stanley*. Of the three affections which naturally tie the hearts of subjects to their sovereigns, namely, love, fear and reverence, he had so little of the first, that he was beholden to the other two : love him they did not ; they feared him, but revered him most.

He was a thoughtful prince, musing, and rather of a melancholy turn ; was constantly taking notice of what passed, and making memorandums respecting persons, as whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to enquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what the factions, and the like, keeping as it were a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale, that his monkey, set on as was supposed by some one about him, tore his principal memorandum book, to pieces, he having left it incautiously out; which pleased the court exceedingly.

He was, as I observed before, infinitely suspicious, and full of apprehensions ; but

as he readily took them up, so he easily checked and mastered them; by which means they were troublesome only to himself. His thoughts 'tis true were so many, that they could not well always stand together; as some did good, others did hurt, nor did he at times weigh them well. That report of the *Duke of York's* being saved and alive, which did him so much mischief, was certainly at first, of his own encouraging, because he would have more reason for alledging that he did not reign in right of his wife. He was affable, well and fair spoken, and knew how to use proper language and expressions, when he had any point of consequence to carry. He was rather studious than learned, reading most books that were of any value in the *French* tongue; yet he understood latin, for cardinal *Adrian* and others, used to write to him in that language.

We hear little of his pleasures; and yet by his instructions to *Marfin* and *Stile*, respecting the queen of *Naples*, he seems to have been a good judge of beauty. He did by pleasures, as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little on, and then

turn

turn away, for never prince was more wholly absorbed in his own affairs ; info-much that in justs, tournaments, balls, and masks (which were then called *disguises*) he was rather a princely and calm spectator, than one who seemed to take delight in them.

No doubt in him, as in all men, (and most so in kings) his fortune worked upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He acquired a crown, not only from a private situation, which should have endowed him with moderation ; but also from a state of exile, which roused him to observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his disposition by troubles. His wisdom, by continual escape from danger, was turned rather into a dexterity to free himself from evils, when they pressed him, than into any foresight, so as to prevent or remove them at a distance ; but his prudence always increased with the danger. In short, take him with all his defects, if we can judge of him by comparison with the cotemporary princes of *France* and *Spain*, we shall find him

him more politick than *Louis XII. of France*, and more sincere to himself than *Ferdinand of Spain*; but if we change *Louis XII.* for *Louis XI.* who lived a little before him, then the agreement is more perfect; for *Louis XI.* *Ferdinand* and *Henry*, may be considered as the *Tres Magi* of kings in those ages. To conclude, if *Henry* did no great things, it was his own fault; for what he thought proper to do, he always effected.

In his person he was comely, rather above just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like that of a church-man; and as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing; but was best when he was talking.

Two stories are related of him: one that the lady *Margeret*, his mother, having a variety of great proposals in marriage, dreamed one night, that a person resembling a bishop, in a pontifical habit, tendered her *Edmund* earl of *Richmond*, the king's father, for her husband; neither had she any other children than *Henry VII.* though she had three husbands.

The

The other is, that *Henry* the Sixth, one day washing his hands at a great feast, cast his eye upon *Henry*, then quite a youth, and said, this is the lad that shall possess quietly, what we are now contending for.

He was born at *Pembroke* castle, and is buried at *Westminster*, in one of the stateliest monuments in Europe. Would that his fame was as much admired as his tomb!

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Page 100, line 1. For *Gagoren*, read *Gagolien*.

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